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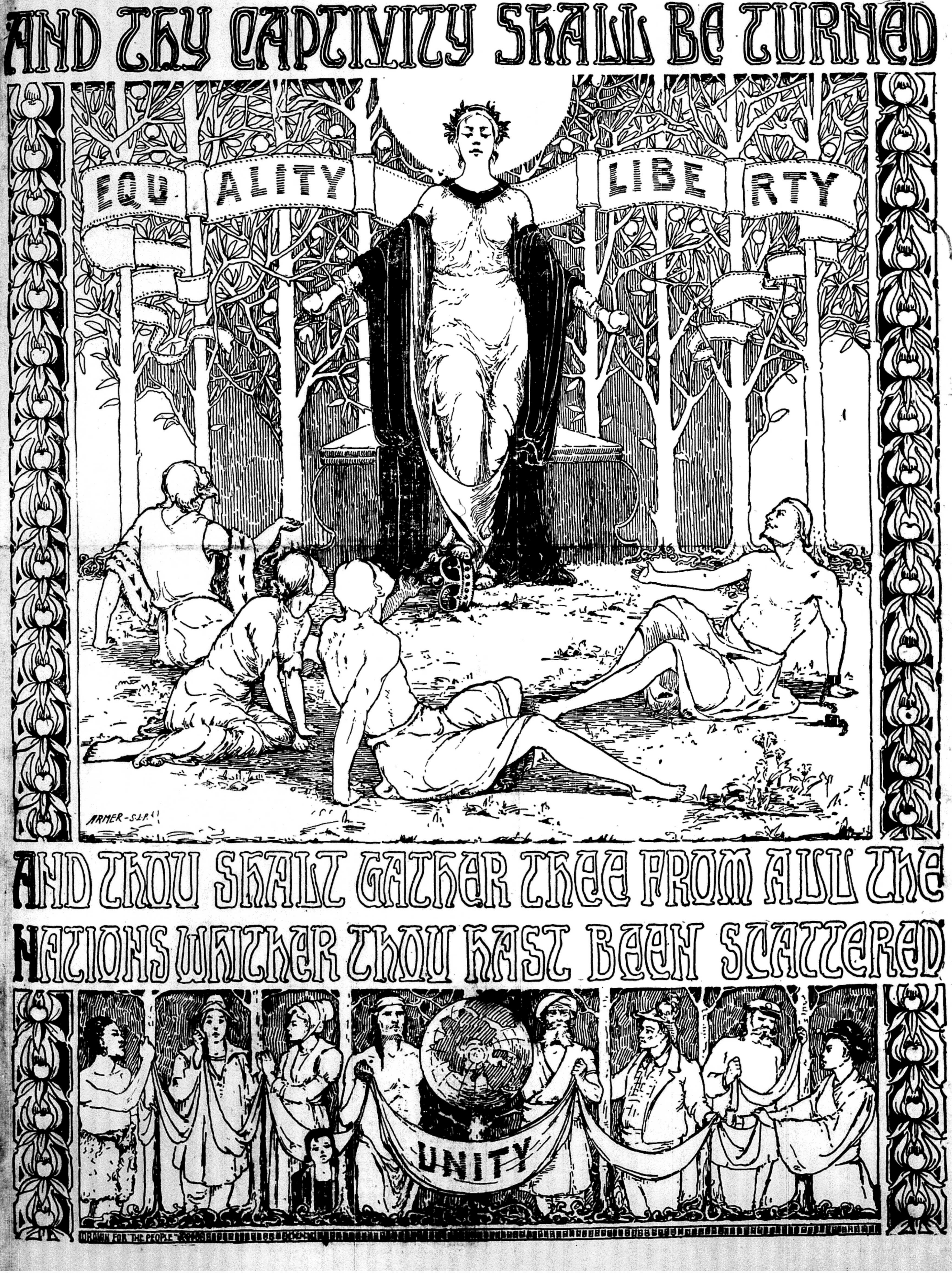
VOL. IX.—NO. 5. NEW YORK, MAY 1, 1899. PRICE 2 CENTS.


AND THY CAPTIVITY SHALL BE TURNED
EQUALITY
LIBERTY
ARMER-S.L.P.
AND THOU SHALT GATHER THEE FROM ALL THE NATIONS WHITHER THOU HAST BEEN SCATTERED
UNITY
DRAWN FOR "THE PEOPLE"

ATLANTIC SLOPE.

MASSACHURETTS.

I.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

By M. Ruther, Holyoke, Mass.

Massachusetts, with its 2,300,000 inhabitants is the third largest manufacturing State in the Union.

Its history and development under capitalism is easily traceable.

In 1850, Massachusetts had a population of 994,514 souls, about equally divided in farming and industrial pursuits. There being 34,000 farms which had a value of $121,000,000, while the capital invested in manufacture was only $89,000,000. The value of farm products being about $633 per farm, while the product of the 177,461 industrial establishments averaged about $888 per worker; wages being on an average about $230. During the forty years, from 1850 to 1890, the number of farms increased but 4,000 and the farming population is now but 11 per cent. of the total population of the State.

The great change which has taken place may best be judged by a comparison of the number of people engaged in the various pursuits. Massachusetts has nearly a million people over ten years of age engaged in gainful pursuits of which 263,278 are females. There are employed:

In manufacture	475,646
Trade and transportation	196,513
Domestic and personal service	185,988
Agriculture	61,090
Professions	43,238
Fisheries	16,250
Mining	1,00)

The product of this army of labor had a total value as follows:

Manufacture	$888,160,403
Agriculture	28,000,000
Fisheries	16,000,000
Mining	4,000,000
Total	$936,160,403

This sum, of course, represents only the first cost price at the factory, farm, mine and wharf. Goods, however, are not sold at these prices to the consumers. They pass through manifold channels of trade and speculation, and when they are finally ready for sale at the retail counter, have a value of probable four times of the original cost of production. Now, let us suppose that the average wages of the million workers of Massachusetts are $500 a piece, and let us also suppose that there is at least one other person dependent upon the earnings of each worker for a living, we have thus two million people depending for their living upon 500 million dollars earning capacity of the people of Massachusetts.

Let us further suppose that the remaining 300,000 population do not work but depend for their living upon profits, they would have to consume on an average about $100,000 worth of goods each to the $500 worth of the workers, in order to dispose of the vast wealth produced annually by the workers. The case becomes even more desperate when we consider that most of the wealth produced is of a perishable nature and must be consumed or wasted.

The Socialist Labor party has taken the initiative to abolish this insane method of production for profit and waste and would put the system upon a scientific basis whereby all workers may share equitably in the values they produce. This would have the direct effect that our hours of labor may be reduced considerably and the purchasing power of our earnings increased at least four-fold to begin with. We have nothing to lose but everything to gain by fighting with all our might the battles of the S. L. P.

Throw off the workman's burden—
Ye will not stoop to less—
Halt not but think of freedom,
Shake off your weariness.
With all your will and power,
Stand forth your share to do,
In helping into being
The time for me and you.

II.

THE "RESPECTABLE POOR."

By Frank MacDonald, Stoneham.

The bold, upright, uncringing, world-subduing "Anglo-Saxon" spirit "dearly loves a Lord," and, as we are without the divine right to coronets, some substitute must be found. For Massachusetts, the shoe Trust, the upper leather Trust, the rough cotton goods Trust and the shoe machinery Trust, fresh and pulsating from their swaddling clothes, are all parvenu, but the "In God We Trust" of the bourgeois American currency—here is a platform on which all reformers may unite, an altar at which all must sacrifice. It is the thing which best proves the oneness of aim in society, and that a man with two strings to his bow is weak and helpless compared with one who needs two strings to his purse. The New Englander learns the bourgeois idea of "a nice little business" before said New Englander can shell his own peanuts, and it takes him a long time to recover from the bad effects of his education. He is, early in life, to enter some business "in an humble way." To-day he may do it, but the chances are greatly in favor of his coming out of business in a way that is a great deal more humble. The conditions which made the ideal of the middle class possible, have gone, but the ideal remains, and honest industrious wage workers with ideas above their class, and intelligence below that of a clay-eater sigh for the return of the good old days. The S. L. P. has as yet not touched this class of poor but honest workers.

Our "respectable poor" are the salvage of our once "bulwark of society," the middle class, and of those proletarians who had the hope of wealth but never the reality. The promised land of riches has been near enough to allure, but never near enough to be entered. Society decided some time past to get along without bulwarks and the middle class finds its occupation gone. The shoneen aristocracy never had the virtues of thorough and manifest depravity, or the vices of pre-eminent respectability.

This class of people, and its numbers are large, is caught on the ragged edge of the working class, and the thorny edge of the middle class. Its aspirations are coldly and cruelly checked by the operation of the cash system, and the highest social honor to which they can attain is a pen behind the ear. The oncoming revolution brings fear to their clerky hearts, and to-day are flattered to be used as a barrier against the advancement of their own class. From the "respectable poor" reactionary parties must draw their votes and their tools.

The danger which confronted the S. L. P. a few years ago was that it would either be driven on the rocks or else be beached. Now it has struck the open sea at a time when fair weather is not a thing for which we may even hope. There may be squeemishness and there may be mutiny, but we are better able to stand them now than we were when not so strong. It is one thing to skip stones and sail chips by the shore, but it is entirely different to plunge out into the open and head for your destination. All winds cannot be used, and parties which have sails set for all will do nothing. We have our course to follow, and whether we move rapidly or slowly is not yet the main question. The direction is plain and must be rigidly adhered to. Triflers and experimenters must trifle and experiment outside the party.

The workers have always vigorously guarded the interests of every class excepting their own. They have suffered for things which did not concern them. They have been pitiful, they have been meek and humble of heart—but they have never been just. All sorts of squid have fed on the few fish that came to the workers' net, and the workers themselves found excuses therefor: The leaders were poor, they needed the money, they had large families. The new phase which the Labor Movement has assumed does away with all this. Let a man be poorer than a duke or an earl purchased on the bargain counter of a department store, let him need money more than the Democratic party needs honesty, let him have more families than Labor Leader Frank K. Forster has, and has had, he works for and with his class or he will find himself like the infected of old, marked for the avoidance of all. We have belled a few industrial lepers, and we shall bell more before the year is out. The party has in reality cut its wisdom teeth, and the wisdom teeth have cut a few fingers that were where they should not be.

We are holding to the idea of our class interests more tightly than the fist of a charitable organization holds to its income. Insisting on the lessons we have learned, building slowly but building well, quarrying our material out of our own class so that we may know its worth, and by following the lines marked out by science we have at last laid the foundation of future success. It may seem slow work to those rapid people who go in many directions at the same time, but despite the heartfelt advice of illwishers it is the only way by which we may win. Massachusetts is really becoming organized, and with the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. we can relieve the "respectable poor" of the only things they have left to lose—their pusillanimity and their class cowardice.

III.

STALWARTS ON THE BREACH.

Michael T. Barry, Haverhill.

Here from Haverhill, Mass., where Debism, Pure and Simpledom and all the other elements which make for confusion are to be found in all the ignorance of the social question which these various decoy-ducks of capitalism are mantled with, the Socialist Labor party, on this the International Labor Day of the class-conscious workers of all countries, sends its greeting and bids the working class of the world God speed in the battle for emancipation which here in Haverhill, as elsewhere, is being relentlessly waged by the Socialist Labor party that the workers may be free from wage slavery and all that which is thereby implied.

Nowhere in the United States is there to be found another spot of earth with the same number of inhabitants where the charlatans have so successfully plied their vocation, a fact which is easily explainable. Haverhill has for many years stood at the head of the list of shoe centres. Nowhere else has the productive capacity of the workers been increased so rapidly: each year their ability to produce wealth was increased, while at the same time the wage paid went steadily downward. Beginning with the K. of L. in its palmy days back in the 80's, one fakir after another set up his stand here with the inevitable result: the workers have again and again been fooled and traded upon, until to-day the shoemakers of Haverhill are the worst off of any of their craft in the country. They have been fooled and cheated so often and so long that the Socialist, when he goes amongst them, finds them hard to organize: they are either crestfallen from the defeats or else they are looking for "short cuts" to liberty, only to find themselves fooled again. This brief sketch of the conditions will suffice to show what the task of militant class-conscious Socialism is at this point.

Before we can successfully organize the working class of Haverhill upon the correct lines of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor party, much work of a preliminary nature must be done. The underbrush which is in the way, the false ideas which the fake movements past and present have inculcated in the minds of the workers, must be eradicated. To do this work is the mission of the Socialist Labor party of this city—work which will never end until the tool of production becomes the workers' property.

Already we are making progress in that direction; systematically we are building up the Section which was once destroyed through the plotting of traitors who thought their "individual" rights were being infringed upon, which translated into terse English means that they were not at liberty while members of the S. L. P. to trade upon the working class. Hence they unconsciously performed the only duty they were capable of performing. They started a side-show of their own and took from the camp of Revolutionary Socialism all the muddle-headed, "short cut" reformers that we had. For that we thank them. While they thought they were striking the blow that would kill the movement here they laid the foundation for its future greatness and usefulness. They and not we put together the elements of Revolution. The present Section Haverhill is of elements which will from now on gather strength because of its being based correctly and its members animated by the same thought—the overthrow of capitalism. So we move on guided in our every movement by the light shed by the torch of science which lights the pathway of the Socialist Labor party to success in every land and every clime wherever the present insane beastializing system of capitalist production prevails.

So the Socialist Labor party sends fraternal greetings to the disinherited wage slaves of the world who to day are awakening from the sleep of centuries. And in the words immortal Marx bids them unite, they have nothing but their chains to lose, they have a world to gain. Unite in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor party that the blighting curse of capitalism may be buried soon and forever.

NEW YORK.

A TYPE OF EMPIRE STATE CAPITALIST.

By Ben Hanford, New York.

Affidavit of Theodore Roosevelt, before Edwin P. Hanna, Notary Public, March 21, 1898, as published in the New York "Press," September 27, 1898:

> "Last June I rented the house in which I am now residing with my family at 1810 N street, Washington, D. C. In October last my family came on here from Oyster Bay, Long Island, and since then I have been and am now a resident of Washington."

Constitution of the State of New York, Section 2 of Article IV.:

> "No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, except a citizen of the United States, of the age of not less than thirty years, and who shall have been five years next preceding his election a resident of this State."

Theodore Roosevelt has more pride in himself than a spreading peacock. More "kitchen" industry than a hill of ants. More ambition than a Cæsar.

He is an honest man, so some believe. He would not rob a hen roost of a feather; nor a bank of a penny. As for perjury—well, perjury is different. Perjury is an essential element of capitalist business, especially when the capitalist and the tax assessor come face to face. Of course, I do not mean to say that Reformer Roosevelt has committed perjury. Doubtless he told the truth when, on March 21, 1898, he made affidavit that he was a "resident of Washington." But as a resident of Washington in '98, it would seem that he would not have been Constitutionally eligible to become Governor of New York in '99. Such notions are for honest folk and simple-minded. In capitalism there are, at bottom, no questions of law and constitutionality, but of capitalist interests. With capitalist agents in the citadel of political power, "Law and Order" is great stuff to shoot workingmen with, and the Constitution is a fine, large word; but no such bauble will be allowed to obstruct the paths of private profit. Capitalism is like necessity, it "knows no law"—save its own interest.

As said above, Roosevelt is by some considered an honest man. He is commended to be a brave man, in the physical sense. Admit that these qualities are good qualities, do they entitle a man to special distinctions? As for courage, the domestic rat ranks high; and the city sparrow could shame an Alexander. It is worthy Mr. Roosevelt's attention that he lives in an age when he is considered a remarkable man because of the supposed possessions of those homely and essential virtues of honesty and courage. But is be their possessor in the highest sense? Has he the courage to meet the political and social problems of this day? He cannot help but see them. Those problems are not located in Cuba or the Philippines. They are in our own house. They include the aggregation of wealth in the hands of a few men, the development of labor-saving machinery, the unemployed, and the ill-paid. Mr. Roosevelt's career has gone far enough to prove that he will not face any of these questions. Living in a day that will bring forth the greatest Revolution that the world has ever seen, he is a Reformer. The man who was the "courageous colonel of cavalry in Cuba," at home becomes the prince of the putty-blowers and a general in the army of bean-shooters. His honesty? Well, one need not consider the political honesty of the political "bonkie" of Thomas C. Platt.

It will be difficult for the historian to fix the moral responsibility for Roosevelt's failure in life—for, no matter what his achievements, the man who lives behind his age is a failure. The most charitable view would be that which would set him down as a recurring type of an extinct species—as, for instance, in the course of centuries, a horse is born with a partially developed toe, telling the student of natural history of the time when horses had toes instead of a solid hoof. In the light of his short career as Governor, one can easily fix Roosevelt's exact date. It is back there with the witch-burners, with the Bible in one hand and with the other applying the torch, while his mouth spoke words about "duty, love and mercy." This is the year A. D. 1899, and Roosevelt proposes to solve the labor question by a dozen new factory inspectors; to deal with aggregated wealth and cussedness by a commission of capitalists to investigate the subject of taxation; to reform a corrupt Democratic police force by substituting a corrupt Republican police force. One would think that even Roosevelt might learn from his own experience with that same police force. Not long since he was its head and front. He had full swing in the weedy field, and right lustily he wielded the shining axe and locust. But the most that he could do was to enmesh a few unfortunate women and close a few saloons. When he left the field of these his greatest triumphs, all was as before. Truly, the man who could not learn from Roosevelt's experience must look on Nero as a first cause.

Whatever of high purpose Theodore Roosevelt may once have had, now he only seeks high office. He may get it. Of what avail? There have already been Presidents of the United States who are forgotten. Their names are in a few of the schoolbooks and encyclopedias, and we hear of them when their impecunious relatives petition Congress for a pension, because they are unable to make a living in the beautiful system their ancestors helped to build. To-day there are descendants of the Cæsars picking rags and asking alms in the streets of Rome. Will the posterity of Roosevelt bless an ancestor who strove to perpetuate a system that will destroy them? Or are they to be so infinitely superior to the past and present that they will forever and aye be able to ride on the shoulders of their fellow men? History says not. In the crises that destroyed the multitude the great went down with the small. Universal ruin does not pick, has neither many discretions. And continued capitalism means universal destruction.

But we can leave the Governor without regret or fear. His greatest virtue is that he is not numerous. There is but one Theodore Roosevelt. Two of him would endanger the peace of any country, however great. A nation with a dozen such men as citizens would be a nation of cannibals. Gnawed and burning with their selfish ambitions, they could only find peace in eating each other.

So let Roosevelt prosper. He may rise, but it will be as the murderer ascends the scaffold, to his own undoing. Let Mother Dubois to her knitting. The world's next great victory will be with the proletariat. In that hour Roosevelt's fame will be infamy.

RHODE ISLAND.

FROM "BROADNESS" TO CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

By T. Curran, Providence.

The attitude of the Socialist Labor party in Rhode Island to-day comes naturally from the ability of its members, after much "broad" experimenting, to read aright the situations into which capitalism whirls. Small in size, dense with a population largely proletarian, big with capital, and most of its industries, people and voters massed together in one quarter of the State's diminutive area, these features make Little Rhody an ideal capitalist realm, and our governmental institutions prove the ideal a reality.

The political career of capitalism in our State has had no check. The Republican party has ever been its watch-dog. The Democrats at times usurped the kennel, yet they also appropriated the zeal of its former occupant in clearing the course for capital. Each party brazenly reflected its master's political features, for there was none to scan them and tell his readings and, had there been, the proletariat would not have believed.

Capitalism here long since rose to its zenith. Centralization of industry it has linked with centralization in politics. Finance, Commerce and Politics, all united in one Napoleon, who, unseen and hardly known, prompts the dance for his puppets in both parties. As a consequence bribery stalks in the Legislature and haunts the voting booth. Rhode Island is a by-word to its neighbors for political corruption—the legitimate fruit of capitalism.

Quite early the lines marking the Democrats from the Republicans were erased in practice and blended in common repute. Yet the stupendous ignorance bred into the proletariat by the vulgar educational methods of capitalism and its plays on race prejudice, throttled sober thought and chained the victims of its shrewd designs to political idolatry. The Irish chose one side and all other nationalities the other, both seduced with the shallow cry: "Friends of Labor." So time in peace rolled on; so races with bitter ignorance fought; so capitalism reigned in cunning wisdom with serene and unruffled sway.

The decade of the 80's was languishing to a placid end when like a lightning flash the proletarians surged into stormy rebellion. The K. of L. mounting the topmost wave, swelled to gigantic stature and almost immediately shriveled to a nonentity. Yet in that brief moment of convulsion the Giant Labor revealed its latent ability to expand into a tremendous force that, properly nurtured and guided, could annihilite the cunning Tyrant Capital. That was enough. The doors to an appreciation of the Class Struggle had been thrown open and pioneers stood in the portals, though at first unconscious of what had brought them thither.

Already in 1891 these pioneers struck the first blow in the political revolt against capital by setting up a State ticket on the platform of the Socialist Labor party. Timorous and apologetic at intruding into the Tyrant's holy of holies, they named themselves "Nationalists,"—clear evidence of halting, ill-defined thought that hoped to convince by hiding its principles behind a mask. Instinct or intuition rather than enlightened intention actuated the moving spirits in this campaign, and the topsy-turviness of mind, incident to such inspiration, was only partly subdued about the beginning of 1894.

(Continued on page 7).

PACIFIC SLOPE.

WASHINGTON.

SOCIALIST-PRODUCING PROCESS.

By Thomas Lawry.

As one not a great while here from the East, I find that the geography of the State of Washington and her productive possibilities are —thanks to the "boom" agents of transportation and land companies—better known to the people of other States than are the conditions, political and economic, of her residents.

A little research has convinced me, also, that this same question of "booming" this State by the publication of alluring prospectuses of railway and land companies, and grandiloquently worded and large-sized special editions of the large capitalistic newspapers of this State, has had largely to do with the present political and economic status of Washingtonians.

Of that part of the State east of the Cascade Mountains, I know little, except that the farming element—the eastern part of the State is largely agricultural—complain so bitterly about the carrying companies' exorbitant rates for carriage, that the matter was considered by the recent Legislature and a bill passed regulating the prices of carrying the staple products. As it was a fight between the small farmer, generally, on the one hand, and the giant railroad corporation on the other, it ended, of course, in favor of the latter. The proletarians being "between the devil and the deep sea" will be little, if anywise, affected. I was told by a friend of mine who went to the Walla Walla district—a great wheat-growing country—last fall, upon the advice of and payment of a fee to a "boom" employment agent, that lucky is the man who goes to Eastern Washington, as a farm hand, by conveyance and does not return, after a season of busy laborious toil, via "shank's mare."

Farmers are "boomed" into this State and pursuaded to take up land—sometimes cleared, and of good quality —only to find rates of carriage to market so high that they cannot sell their products at a profit. Last fall, while on a brief lecturing tour for our party through Whatcom County, only one hunred and fifty or two hundred miles away, I saw thousands of bushels of fine fruit left to rot upon the ground; while right here in the city of Seattle, I paid for fruit of the same kind and quality, five cents per pound.

Men with a few dollars are "boomed" here to locate a "homestead," and after wrestling with land that, in many instances, takes years to clear five or ten acres of, give up the fight and the land, and return to conditions a little less gloomy. In other instances they partially succeed, and after getting a little patch cleared, borrow money to buy stock, build a barn, or a little home, and—good-by! the mortgagee takes the land with all the improvements. The saddest feature of this "homesteading" life, however, is that the isolation from society, makes the "homesteader" silent, morose, insane. MORE PEOPLE BECOME INSANE HERE, PROPORTIONALLY, THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE UNION. I learned this from a prominent attorney at the State Capitol, who attributed it to "the moist climate." From a comrade, however, who has been through the horror, and can cite numerous cases of insanity within his own knowledge, I am forced to the conviction that this sad condition is forced upon the farmer by the damnable terms imposed upon any one seeking a home by capitalistic Uncle Sam, who is not only "rich enough to give us all a farm," but also a home (?)—in the mad-house.

Men with nothing but their labor-power are "boomed" hither by all kinds of lying advertising fakes—not the least of which is the Klondike fake. These men at once become the easy prey of the "employment agent," who stand in with the boss of a job, charges a sum for procuring the work, (which sum is divided with said boss), the amount to be deducted, generally, from the first wages earned, the man is "fired" in a few days, and the process is repeated with another, or upon him by some other agent and accomplice.

These and other things of like kind have brought discontent, which bore fruit in a blind political uprising resulting in the election of all kinds of middle class capitalistic officials, from Constables to State Legislators and Governor, calling themselves Populists. Thus they had single tax Pops, free silver Republican Pops, Demo-Pops, middle-of-the-road Pops, and —Pops. They have gone. The people found that they were doing worse than their predecessors and supplanted them by a crop of simon-pure gold-bug Republicans—and these promise to out-Herod Herod.

But "a cloud no bigger than a man's hand" a year ago, is now darkening the horizon of the capitalistic government of this tSate. The S. L. P. for the first time put up a ticket last fall, and without money, but with an earnestness that knows no such word as "abating," began to show the cause of so much poverty, discontent, and insanity; began to show the people that the tools of producing and distributing wealth being the private property of a part of society, the other members of society owning nothing but the power to labor with those tools, were in economic subjection to the tool owners, and must sell this sole thing they had—their labor-power—presently, and for whatever the tool owners offered them in order to exist; began to show them that these facts pointed plainly to opposing interests, and that a class that was getting something for nothing from them was not likely to give it up voluntarily; began to point out to them that they who produced should get these productions, and that the production being co-operative, showed exactly how the tools of production should be owned, and that the only way to bring about collective ownership was by the solid vote of a class-conscious wage workers' ballot.

Well, we had a few speakers here and there whenever they could spend the time (for we had no money to pay them, and they were poor), disseminated a lot of good Socialist literature, and when election day came, not a county in the State but polled some S. L. P. votes—an anomaly in the whole country.

We have more "isms" and "osophies" than any other State in America—though numerically smaller than many an Eastern county. This is the home of "colony schemes." Our State can boast of a large number who are "Socialists"—but something stands for their ideal way of reaching Socialism. With all these in the way, however, there are thousands of minds here ready to know the why and wherefore of Socialism—the philosophy, the science of the movement—, and there is enough solidarity among the truly class-conscious members of the Socialist Labor party of this State to say that the wants of those desiring to know the truth shall not long remain unfilled.

Let us not, then, falter in our educational and organization work, our inspiration being: "We have nothing to lose but our chains, and a world to gain."

CALIFORNIA.

GREAT OBSTACLES OVERCOME.

By Job Harriman, Los Angeles.

May Day, 1899, finds the California comrades better organized, more determined, more harmonious, and more hopeful than ever before.

The tremendous vote recently cast in Germany and France and our phenominal growth in all European countries, together with the splendid showing made by our sister States, and the large vote of California have inspired us with abiding hope and courage. This success has aroused our comrades to action and we are now conducting a most aggressive campaign. None but those who have worked so long with but few comrades, can fully realize what an influence the strength of numbers brings.

Only a handful of men and women remained active in Sections San Francisco and Los Angeles after the wreck of the Nationalist movement, in 1890. There were among us but few speakers, scarcely any trained men, and still less money. Every Sunday night since 1890 we have held meetings when the audiences were sometimes painfully small. At first the growth was slow, but it was gradual and substantial.

During the last two years we grew from 1,600 votes to 5,000 votes for the head of the ticket. Two years hence California will surprise the comrades everywhere with a large vote and a well knit organization.

The obstacles in the way of our growth here have been almost irresistible. It is 500 miles from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and there are but few towns of any size between them. The railroad fare is exorbitant, and the expense of traveling from place to place was for a long time more than we could afford; even now it is one of the greatest obstacles with which we have to contend.

The Farmers' Alliance, out of which the People's party sprang, gave hope to the farmers and was thought by them to be the means of solving their troubles. While those organizations lived, we could find no hearing in the country, and were coldly received in the cities and towns. They were even angry when we prophesied the failure of their movement, and they were accordingly a temporary obstacle to our educational movement.

But this obstacle, and each of those above mentioned, are now transforming into engines in our favor.

These men have not found their expected fortunes. They have lost even the money with which they came. They know it is useless to return East. They cannot go farther West.

So it is with the Farmers' Alliance and People's party. Though they were angry with us for a time, now that they have failed, they are the more able to understand that, after all, we were correct, and their previous work is now counting for us. Their scheme has failed, their hopes have vanished, and we alone offer any relief or any hope. Even the great distance between towns is working in our favor. It is so far from place to place, that the people are compelled to use the railroad, both for constant traveling and freight, and the companies take advantage of this fact, they charge all the traffic will bear. The farmer previously thought that the wheat, fruit, etc., was the traffic, but the excessive charges are becoming so burdensome that their poor tired backs are forcing them to assent to our position, namely, that, in the last analysis, labor is the traffic and bears all the burdens. Hence this high railroad tariff, which is one of the means of impoverishing a once prosperous people, becomes at the same time and by the same act a fertilizer of Socialist soil. It is wonderful what thrifty Socialists take root and grow in this new fertilizer—the railroad combinations, the flour trust, the meat trust, the fruit combines, etc., are all lowering the wages of their men, are lowering the price of the product as they come from all producers, and raising the prices on everything as they return to the producers. By this one act they are watering and tilling the soil and pruning the Socialist plant, and making the situation generally so hot, that the growth of Socialism is equal to that of the vegetation in the torrid zone.

But the plant is not sappy. It is as solid and beautiful as mahogany, and our returns in future elections will give hope to the weak and courage to the strong, for the abundance of the harvest will surpass the hopes of the most sanguine of our comrades.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

KANSAS.

MEMORIES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1898.

By Caleb Lipscomb.

I read the letters in THE PEOPLE from comrades from various places with keen interest, especially those that show the various "reform" elements that are so prevalent just at this time; and I take it as granted that many would like to hear from Kansas along this line in the May Day issue.

Comrade J. F. Elkner issued a call for a meeting of the Sections of the S. L. P. at Pittsburgh, this State, on November 14, 1897, for the purpose of effecting a State organization, which was accomplished; but I did not go into the party at that time. I had conducted an agitation at our town for some time previous to this, but had joined no party. At this meeting a State Board was elected, but the cloven foot of "Reform" was worked in and three of the State Board proved to be allies of the Populist party and their purpose was to get official positions in the S. L. P. so as to keep it out of the political field, and keep Populism at the "pie counter." Fortunately, they found that they could not sidetrack the other members of the State Board, and after a few attempts, one of which I shall describe, they dropped their cloak of hypocrisy and came out squarely for (con-)fusion and left the S. L. P.

It will be remembered that considerable useful agitation has been conducted in Kansas through the Socialist Educational Society, of which I am treasurer. I received an invitation to be at Pittsburgh, some two months after our first meeting, to hear two eminent Socialists (?), namely: G. C. Clemens (Populist Supreme Court Reporter), and Wm. E. Bush (Populist Secretary of State). Some may be surprised to learn that such distinguished men are Socialists (?). I was late getting to this meeting, and when I got in the hall, Mr. Bush was closing his remarks. He was followed by Mr. Clemens, who prefaced his remarks by saying: "I see the S. L. P. button on some of your coats and also another emblem (the S. E. S. bow) but," said he, "I am here to organize the SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, but I know you will all do as I will do when election day comes—and vote as you please." I thought this confession a "corker" to come from the "State Organizer of a Socialist party"(?). After this meeting, we went to the Stillwell Hotel, and in a conversation with Mr. Bush, he stated positively that the "Social Democracy would have no ticket in Kansas." These "facts," stated by the two chief apostles of the S. D. P., fully convinced me that the place I belonged in was the S. L. P. I at once wrote to Comrade Elkner to send me blanks to form a Section at Fort Scott. We formed a Section and I joined the first political party I ever belonged to, and as I am now forty, I think it will be the last one as I am fully satisfied that I am in the right place.

The agitation went on slowly but steadily, and the party thought it would be wise to put out a State ticket and as many county tickets as could be put up. I had desired for some time to vote for a straight Socialist ticket, and was a strong advocate of this course. At this juncture, Populism showed its cloven foot again. It must be remembered that the Democrats at Atchinson and the Pops at Topeka had their State convention on June 15, and ours was to be at Fort Scott on June 28. A particular friend of mine, who had been a Populist, was in Topeka the day of the Pop convention and some of the delegates from our county (Bourbon) wanted him to take a proxy and present a "strong man for Governor from Bourbon." I might say that I never was in a Populist convention, and did not know personally any of the delegates except to speak on the streets when I met them. This "strong man" that they were going to knock Governor Leedy over with was myself!! The game was simply to present my name and have the delegates from Bourbon vote for me on first ballot to make it appear that I was seeking the Pop nomination to weaken my influence with the S. L. P., and in order to do this if they could get a "chum" of mine to present my name to the convention, it would add considerable color to it. But this, like all other "reform" measures, failed, for my friend saw through the trick and told them flatly that they could not use him as a tool.

Before our call was issued, I went to Girard on Sunday, to learn how Mr. J. A. Wayland felt on this matter. He and I talked the situation over fully, and he agreed with me that we should put out a ticket. As he put it, "Get out a ticket, even if all the candidates are from one town." But, strange to say, that before our convention day came, the "Appeal" was talking nice about the Populist-Democrat (con-)fusion and not till late in the campaign did the "Appeal" put a word in it about the S. L. P. except to rail about "bosses," notwithstanding myself and Comrade Miller (our candidate for Congress at large) were among the roll of honor of 100 best workers. And now we are refused a single line in his paper—and I am glad of it—; so much for another freak of nature.

Finally our ticket was named, and to get on the official ballot was no small job as the "Reformers" had so reformed the law that it required 2,500 petitioners instead of 500, as provided under the Republican law, for a new party to get recognition. In some cases it will be seen that "reform" is worse than "plutocracy." We got our petition filed and our place assured on the blanket ballot, and the campaign was on.

I was to speak one Sunday night at a mining town, and these "Reformers" preceded us with, as one comrade put it, "sixteen kegs of beer and Lord knows how much whiskey," and tolled off to the woods all who would follow the bait; and later in the day this same Social Democrat Clemens and one of the good and pious traitors of the S. L. P. Board came with their "Sunday faces on" and told the good church people that we horrible Socialists were actually going to hold "a political meeting on the Lord's day." The result was, we had a good orderly and intelligent audience. The fellows that followed the liquor were not able to get back, and the others were saved, being contaminated. Where I spoke I had the most courteous treatment from the audience generally, but the Demo-Pop papers would report us speaking to ten, and the Republican reporter of the same meeting would say we had "a thousand or more and mostly Populist." The Republicans thought we would draw from the Pops, but it is my candid opinion that OUR NEW CONVERTS CAME ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, and you may look out to hear the tune of the Republican press change in Kansas in the next two years.

The result of the election is now known. The Confusionists were beaten everywhere; we polled 646 votes for the head of the ticket, and the Republicans are dividing the spoils.

But (con-)fusion in Kansas is not dead as some assert. Just at this time these place-hunters are playing 'possum. They have given up all hopes of "reforming" the S. L. P., but since the demise of the Social Democracy, there has been born the "Social Democrat party," and it is being passed from "Sachems to warrior" that this is a "truly Socialist party, and has no bosses, and is BROAD." I warn the Kansas comrades to steer clear of these "broad Socialists." It is the same old confusion mixture of Communism, Anarchy and old Bourbon Democracy.

NEBRASKA.

WHERE ARE WE AT IN NEBRASKA?

By H. S. Aley, Lincoln.

The Socialist vote in this State last fall (248) is not a fair criterion of our real strength in Nebraska, as, I am confident, not 10 per cent. of the voters knew a Socialist ticket was in the field, thanks to the news gathering organs of bourgeoisdom — Republican and Demo-Pop—who took good care that the people should not be informed upon THIS point.

Aside from the distribution of 30,000 manifestos—principally in Lincoln and Omaha—and five speeches at Hastings, Grand Island, Kearney, Lexington, and Omaha, no campaign was made at all. The tone of letters received, during the past two months from different parts of the State, makes me think that had we been in a position to have let the voters know a Socialist ticket was nominated, 1,500 or 2,000 would come nearer than 248 in expressing the true revolutionary sentiment in this State.

Although Nebraska contains at least 100,000 proletarian voters, the Socialist Labor party will gain but little strength from this State for some time to come and mainly for the following reasons: The census returns of 1890 show the wealth of this State to be $1,275,685,514; the population, 1,058,910; and the average wealth, $1,204, or about $150 more than the average per capita for the United States. For obvious reasons, this wealth is more evenly distributed than in most of the other States. The census also shows that 5 per cent. of the people of Nebraska lived in towns of 100 to 500, 4 per cent. in towns of 500 to 1,000, 5 per cent. in towns of 1,000 to 2,000, 4 per cent. in towns of 2,00 to 5,000, 4 per cent. in towns of 5,000 to 10,000, and 20 per cent. in towns of 10,000 to 150,000 population. In other wards, 58 per cent. was strictly rural, and the balance, or 42 per cent., lived in towns and cities.

In all towns of this State containing less than 5,000, the people are semi-agrarian, i. e., dominated largely by agricultural interests, and even those who do not depend directly on the farmer's support, at least share, in great measure, indirectly in their prosperity as well as in their adversity; hence only 24 per cent. or those living in cities of over 5,000 could be said to be dominated by urban interests.

This 24 per cent. lived in 10 cities whose population ranged from 6,742 to 140,552, and 7 of these cities depended largely on the farm trade. Omaha, South Omaha, and Lincoln are the only ones whose manufacturing industries wield any considerable influence, and the latter's "cut but little ice" when compared to the influence of the B. & M. R. R. corporation.

This company so completely dominates the city of Lincoln that at least 75 per cent. of the population either have situations on the B. & M., want situations on the B. & M., want favors of the B. & M., or they are dependent on those who have situations, want situations, or desire favors of this corporation. In Lincoln, the situation is such that the working class have to dance to the B. & M.'s tune or go without a job; in South Omaha, they have to cater to the packing house magnates or starve, and in all of the other 7 cities, most of the proletariat are dependent on the will of some one railroad corporation, either directly or indirectly for an opportunity to live. In Fremont, Grand Island and Kearney, it is the U. P., in Hastings, Beatrice, Nebraska City, and Plattsmouth, it is the B. & M.

In all these cities, the merchants, shippers, manufacturers, and professional classes are influenced to a great extent by these same corporations, and the working class, dependent on the mercantile and professional classes have also, in consequence, to sneeze whenever the railroad magnates take snuff. Not long since I asked an ex-Attorney-General of Nebraska how, nearly all the attorneys of the State secured free railroad transportation, and was informed by him that those who did, had—as one of the considerations—agreed to prosecute no case for damages against the road tendering the transportation. Even the Demo-Pop Reform politicians have their pockets filled with these bribes, and so well satisfied is the B. & M. with its part of the bargain, with these emblems of purity, that its general manager last summer is said to have "called down" one of the correspondents of their State organ—"The Journal"—who had scored the Pop State House officials for accepting free passes while pretending to be virtuous. He was informed that the B. & M. was PERFECTLY SATISFIED with things as they were in this particular.

From 1890—1895, we had three almost general crop failures in Nebraska, and these, with the low prices for corn and wheat, that had prevailed for some time previous to 1890, reduced many of the farmers to a very precarious financial condition. In fact, the low prices had nearly bankrupted many of them before the crop failures came, hence, the strength of the Populist movement —70,000 voters—in 1890. Doubtless, many of the more unfortunate land owners, most of the renters, and all of the farm proletariat would have then furnished splendid material for Socialist propaganda. Many of them did, by reading Bellamy, become thoroughly imbued with Socialistic ideals. However, good crops, for the past three years, with fair prices—due in the main to crop failures abroad—has put many of these sentimental revolutionists on the high road to prosperity, and just in proportion as their equity has increased in their mortgaged property, in that ratio have their revolutionary ideas vanished and their conservatism returned. Occasionally one may be found who has been reading and thinking about something else than the free and unlimited coinage of silver, 16 to 1, "without the aid and consent, etc., etc., etc.," who comprehends that the Nebraska farmer's prosperity is due to the adversity of the farmers of Russia, India, and South America., that the increased price for wheat here, during these years of plenty, was simply the recompense for energy expended where crop failures prevailed, and that under normal conditions, with good crops here and abroad, prices will drop to the cost of production in those countries where wheat and corn can be produced the cheapest. He also sees that under these conditions only 4 or 5 years will be needed to bankrupt the 160-acre Nebraska farmers, as he will be unable to compete with the bonanza farmers of California, the Dakotas, and those who employ the ryots of India. Until this condition prevails, little can be done in this State to interest the agricultural class nor those living in the smaller towns, that are dependent on this class for their trade.

In the larger towns, the department store is "getting in its work" among the small business men, regardless of the prosperity boom among the farmers, and many of these are anxiously inquiring "where are we at?" On account of the limited opportunity for securing a variety of situations in all the Nebraska towns—with the single exception of Omaha, it having a diversity of industries—, Socialist ideas will secure but little attention in these towns from the working class, as the restricted labor market, even in the nine other cities, tends to make cowards of the wage earners. Therefore, at the present time, Omaha is the logical centre for the Socialist Movement in this State. It is honey-combed with the reactionary old style trade unions, and to counteract their influence, the first thing neded is a staunch Local of the S. T. & L. A. This, as a recruiting station for the Section already organized there, would soon establish a healthy nucleous, from which our ideas would rapidly spread at the first favorable opportunity—say a strike like the packing house strike of 1894, or the one on the B. & M. in 1888—to all the largest towns in the State, and from thence to the smaller towns and agricultural districts whenever the prosperity prop--good crops here and poor crops abroad—gives way.

Events have proven during the past year that our best time to work among the working class is when they are in open economic warfare with their employers, then only as a class, under present conditions, does their latent manhood become fully manifest.

In short, in the country and smaller towns of Nebraska, middle rural class interests prevail, in the largest towns, corporate greed reigns supreme, and in the medium-sized towns, a mongrel cross, between the first and second, acts as the spoke in the wheel of social progress. In all these, the working class are in utter subjection to the dominant class in their respective locality.

In conclusion we, of Nebraska, exclaim, Speed the day here as elsewhere when consolidated capital shall have swept from the economic battle field the reactionary middle class and thereby cleared the way for the two vital contending forces, viz.: plutocracy and proletariat in the oncoming social revolution.

IOWA.

"ITS" WORKINGS IN A LEADING AGRICULTURAL STATE.

By H. Kipp, Rock Island.

Iowa is a farming State with very small manufacturing capacity. She leads in the production of corn with a yield of 254 million bushels, also in oats, last year's yield being 123 million bushels. In wealth, the State ranks twelfth among the States with last year's yield of 22,189,000 bushels. She is also first in the production of hogs, dairy products and cattle.

The saw-mill industry which was from 1870 to 1890 flourishing on the Mississippi banks, is gone to the dickens and, as the saw-mill operators own most of the river banks, consequently no manufacturing business could be established to give employment to the laid-off workingmen.

A thing that makes the burden of the workingmen still heavier is the "Loan and Building Associations." Too many workingmen tried to get their own home and paid to the Building Associations double as much in interest than they would had to pay to a shylock capitalist. Half or nearly full paid for, these workingmen will sacrifice everything not to lose their "home"; the capitalist employers knowing that condition of things are skinning them.

The mercantile middle class reaps profits on both sides, from their workingmen by low wages, and from the farmers by buying their product for the lowest prices and, in some cases, even cheating them with false scales and paying them with rotten, adulterated and damaged goods. If they try to ship their product to market centers, they are robbed by the railroads. So the farmer, as well as the workingmen, can (by hard labor) earn not more than their bare living.

Let us see to what extent capitalist exploitation has gone in Iowa.

We find that in the last ten years the inmates of our insane asylums have more than doubled, and we have to build more asylums for them. The same with the feeble-minded; ditto with the inmates of the penitentiary, county jails and "poor farms."

What caused all this? Is it that the people live too high? Have they too much leisure, pleasure? Or is it the adulterated wiskeys, as the "Toledo Express" says, on the subject of the increase of insanity in Kansas?

None of the afore-mentioned, but exploitation. The capitalistic system, as it exists, drives the struggling population to crime and insanity; fills our institutes with inmates and the capitalist's pockets with the wealth produced by the poor wretches. On the one side luxury and abundance; on the other starvation, insanity, crime and direst misery.

And all this could be changed by the people themselves into a Garden of Eden, by voting at the ballot box this shameful capitalistic system out of existence, by voting to Congress, the Legislature and municipalities men of their own class, to make laws for the welfare of all the people, to inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Socialist System, where in reality no classes will be, but real Freedom and equal Right will reign supreme.

MISSOURI.

"RESOURCES" OF BROTHER CAPITAL.

By Garnet Futvoye, Kansas City.

The State of Missouri has long been extolled by the mouthpieces of the ruling class, for the bounty and diversity of its resources; but let it not be supposed that the condition of those who have developed these resources, those who have delved and sowed and wrought, is any the better therefor. On the contrary the increasing degradation of a continually increasing number of the disinherited is looked upon as one of the "resources," to wit: cheap labor for "brother capitalist."

Industries are various and in nearly all the system of capitalist exploitation is well advanced. The cities show all the marks of capitalist "enterprise,"—wretched "working quarters," impoverished workers, toiling women and children, idle thousands.

The legal columns of the county papers indicate the condition of the farmers, though the authorities refrain from publishing statistics; while the tale of the miners tallies with that so often told of Pennsylvania, the same abuses—company stores and houses, scrip, "contracts" waiving screen law, etc.

All in the land of the anti-monopoly party, the party of the "common people." For Missouri presents the general characteristic of the Western States: an exploited class of exploiters, having at least nominally the political power. I say NOMINALLY advisedly, for it would seem that the "statesmen" who are sent to the Assembly to do the bidding of this middle class are loth to grapple with its oppressors. Can it be they are convinced of the uselessness of so doing?

But all this has nothing to do with us. We are concerned only that a majority of our class blindly follows the lead of these reactionaries as in their support of the party of (capitalist) prosperity.

To arouse them to a sense of their position and show them that only by shaking off exploiters of all kinds and capacities will they emancipate themselves: that is the task before those of us who have become enlightened.

The seeming radicalisms of the dominant party, the loud promises of "doing something" for the working class and the small trades people (the latter always included), catch many. Section Kansas City once received a letter from a local committee of the Democratic party, calling attention to their municipal platform as "being in the direction" of what Socialism advocates.

A start has been made, albeit a small one. Last Fall over 1,000 votes recorded and doubtless a good many suppressed according to evidence obtained, shows that the S. L. P. is alive and gaining, surely if slowly. The friendly powers that be insist we must have over 22,000 votes before we are "recognized" as a party, but they have not failed to recognize us in other ways. Among them a law to frighten signers from our petitions by requiring an affidavit that they will support the entire ticket. Other hampering laws are also pending, but we are not worrying over them. Knowing that present conditions cannot last and that the triumph of our cause is the logic of evolution, we can turn even adversity to use and push onward towards the goal.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION.

TYPICAL CAPITALIST ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

By T. F. Dugan, Moline, Ill.

Fifteen years ago I left my home in the East and went West to better my condition. At that time there were opportunities to do so. The capitalists of the East were coming West and investing their money in railroad building; the country was rapidly developed: towns sprung up in a night. Labor was scarce, and wages, compared with those of the East, were high. Workingmen were independent; if they did not like the work, they could quit and be sure that they could get another job just as good as the one they left. If they did not wish to work for a wage, they could save their money and invest it in some small business or take up a piece of Government land. They believed that such conditions would last forever, and feeling assured that the future was bright for them, took to themselves a wife and led a good and natural life. They were good fellows, generous and kind-hearted. With the completion of the great transcontinental railroad, there came a great rush to the West. The country was being boomed by the railroads, who owned large land grants, generously donated to them by the Government, which they wished to dispose of at a good price. Among this large influx of people from the East were the timber and Government land grabbers, capitalists and persons with small means seeking for land; but for every one that came with wealth there came a thousand proletarians and a revolution took place in the condition of our independent workman. Caught in the meshes of speculation going on all around him, his past savings were lost. The independent workman of fifteen years ago has disappeared and in his place has come the proletaire. His middle class and silver-bug capitalist exploiters are just as tyrannical in their treatment of him as the gold-bug capitalist in the East to his workmen. Those "saviors of humanity," the silver-bug, middle class, Democratic party, never tired in telling the workingmen of the East of the brutality of the gold-bug capitalist, but the intellectual prostitutes whom they hired to preach "free silver" and other reactionary nonsense to the people never told of the brutal treatment the workingmen of the West have received from their masters.

MONTANA AND IDAHO.

When Montana became a State, the citizens were called on to vote upon where the Capital should be located. Several cities entered the contest and the two cities receiving the largest vote were voted upon a second time to decide the matter. At the following election Butte City was in the contest. The workers of that city voted against their own town and voted for Anaconda. The two cities that received the highest vote were Helena and Anaconda. Anaconda is 26 miles from Butte City and is owned by the Anaconda Mining Syndicate, which has its smelters there and owns the land upon which the town is built. In many respects, it is another Pullman. By having the Capital there, the value of the company's real estate would be raised and the law-makers would be right at its door. The corporation at that time (1894) belonged to the Hearst Estate, Haggin & Daly. The company owns the railroad between Anaconda and Butte City, at which latter place the mines are located. Helena is a town that possesses more wealthy people in proportion to population than any other city in the United States. Butte City was the storm-center of the election. "The Butte City Miner," a paper owned by W. A. Clark (the newly elected Senator from Montana), and distributed by him broadcast throughout the State, denounced the Anaconda property for its maltreatment of its employés at its Homestake Mine in South Dakota. The organs of the company in their turn charged the Helena people with the same offense; and neither side had any trouble to prove its charges.

This same Clark owns the Verdia Copper Mine at Jerome, Ariz. In Montana he is a friend of labor; in Arizona, where he has no political aspirations, it is different. There his property is known as a "stake" mine, i. e., a mine where a miner provides himself with the absolute necessaries of life until he can get another job or leave the country.

In the election referred to above the Great Northern R. R. Co. flooded the State with men. "Money was easy" for every one that could convince the persons interested that he was a good bell-weather. Prominent "labor leaders," gamblers and politicians were employed by both sides, and liberally supplied money to buy votes. The market price for votes ranged from $2.50 to $5.00 a piece. Some persons lost their votes because they held out too long and the market closed. At 5 p. m., the Anaconda mine alone must have distributed over $100,000. Helena was chosen as the Capital site. Before the election the mines were crowded with men. There was work for every one, provided he could show he was a registered voter. After the election, the Anaconda Company discharged all the men who happened to live in precincts that showed a large majority for Helena. Business men who opposed the company were boycotted and men dealing with them were discharged. Such conditions as here described are common throughout the West.

If the working class of Butte City were class-conscious, they could secure control of that city and use the public powers to give work to the unemployed, but instead they voted their masters into public power and built a stockade and put the unemployed there to break rocks for the crime of vagrancy. In the spring of 1897, the newspapers reported that the "good citizens" of Butte drove the unemployed out of the city by force.

Everything comes to those who wait. Rockefeller, Rotschilds and Company have bought the Anaconda Mining and Smelting Company and have been able to secure some exceptional legislation in their favor at the last session of the legislature. Those who oppose said legislation claim it will place the company outside the jurisdiction of the State courts and they fear it will mean the destruction of the miners' union, which has been able to secure a wage of $3.50 per day for every man who works underground. And they have good reason to think so. The miners' experience in Cœur d'Alene, Idaho, where Rockefeller is interested, is a lesson they will never forget. It is natural to expect that the class-unconscious miners will in case of trouble resist the importation of their class-unconscious fellow workmen called "scabs" to take their places. Force will undoubtedly be used in case of a strike. How much different it would be, if they were class-conscious, and went to the ballot box, voted for themselves and placed their own class back of the policemen's clubs and the soldiers' bayonets and used the public powers to tax back into the control of the working class some of the surplus value that has been stolen from them and use it as a means for placing the unemployed at work on public work and do their best they could for their less fortunate brothers. That would be much better than what they are doing now looking on with indifference while their brother workman is being hounded out of the town by a lot of scoundrels that never did an honest day's work, if they could avoid it. I have considerable feeling for the unemployed. A man who is in the unemployed is susceptible to reason; there is more feeling of solidarity among men who have had that experience.

NEVADA.

The condition of the working class in Nevada is prosperous around election time. I am informed by the "hot-water" miners that when U. S. Senators are to be elected, there is no trouble to get work, provided you are a voter.

COLORADO

has a great history for the class-conscious workingman. When Waite was Governor, the Cripple Creek strike was declared. The strikers, to prevent the introduction of "scabs," built barricades around the mines. The mine owners sent to Denver and Colorado Springs and secured deputy-sheriffs. The miners of the other camps were arming themselves and marching to help the strikers. Governor Waite sent out the militia and they lined up between the strikers and the deputies. Waite acted as representative of the miners in conference with the owners and the men won. When, in 1896, Waite ran again for Governor he received about 600 votes out of about 6,000 cast in Leadville at a time when the Leadville miners were on strike. Adams, a silver Republican, was elected Governor and one of his first official acts was to send the militia to Leadville under the pretence of maintaining "law and order." The mine owners set fire to the Coronado Mine at Leadville, as the Legislative Investigating Committee showed, and used the incident as a pretext to call out the troops. I have been informed that ninety per cent. of the business men, who promised their support to the miners, organized a home guard and aided the mine owners to break the strike. A large number of the strikers were forced to leave their homes and seek work elsewhere. I met some of them in Arizona in the spring of 1897. Some of them tried to get work at the Congress Mine, owned by Frank Murphy, a free silver man, and others. They were informed by the superintendent that he did not care to hire "hobo" miners, although he recognized that hobo miners were the best, his real reason being that hobo miners, not being deterred from asking for food when out of work, were much more independent and difficult to control than the others.

The workingmen of the Rocky Mountain Region, like the workingmen everywhere, are sinking fast. In my opinion the best way to revive workingmen East and West is to send a S. L. P. representative to Congress. His presence there will be an immense object lesson to the workers and he will help them exceedingly in distinguishing between capitalist swindle politics and honest, effective, revolutionary, working class politics

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York
— EVERY SUNDAY. —

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.
Invariably in advance:
one year $0.50
six months 0.25
single copies 0.02

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 6, 1891.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2.068
In 1890	13.331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21.157
In 1894	33.133
In 1896 (Presidential	36.564
In 1898	82,204

There's a light about to gleam,
There's a fount about to stream,
There's a warmth about to glow,
There's a flower about to blow,
There's a midnight darkness changing
into grey.
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way.
MACAY.

[Written for the MAY DAY PEOPLE.]

By Frances Macdaniel, New York.

Dear is our faith—
Torrent no stronger,
Mountain no higher,
God's time no longer,
Hotter no fire,
Glorious faith!

Dear is our faith—
Ceaseless its round
Knitting the ties,—
Man to man bound
E'en death defies—,
"Comrades, the Faith!"

Dear is our faith—,
Back in the ages,
Far in the past,
Whisper'd by sages,—
At last, now at last,
World-wide the faith!

Dear is our faith—,
Thund'rous its might
Up to the skies,
"Unite ye, unite,
Down-trodden, arise!
Be brothers in faith!"

Dear is our faith—
Again comes its cry,
"Wage slaves, attend ye,
Be men, and stand by,
The ballot defend ye!
The Faith cannot die!"

MAY DAY.

The class-conscious, militant, Proletariat of America joins this day in that international festival of Labor, that, ungranted by any capitalist law, in fact, celebrated in the teeth of the Exploiter, attests to the growing sense of the pregnant truth that our planet is no longer divided between hostile nations or races, but is divided by an equatorial line, that, crossing all nations, parts their collective population in two: the goats and the sheep; on one side the International Capitalist Class, on the other, the International Proletariat; on one side the Exploiter, on the other the Exploited; on one side the Idler and Parasite, on the other, the Worker.

On the anniversary of this stupendous international demonstration, the herald of Peace on Earth, sufficiently striking in itself, and rendered all the more so by the contemporaneous utopian and hypocritical efforts at international disarmament on the part of the International Exploiter, the class-conscious, militant proletariat of America, located at one of the most important and responsible posts on the international field of the impending International Revolution, sends to its Comrades of all lands a full-throated cheer, a cheer born of the conscious ascendency of our common Cause, and of the consciousness of approaching victory.

THE PARABLE OF THE TANK

One of the most exquisite passages in Edward Bellamy's last work, "Equality," is "The Parable of the Tank." It is exquisite in the neatness and simplicity of the presentation of an economic-social development that, carried on by extortion, must lead to collapse. Nevertheless, due, probably, to the very simplicity of the presentation, it omits mention of a certain vein that runs through the whole capitalist system, and that can not be omitted without rendering the presentation itself, not defective merely, but liable to foster, by insinuating, a serious popular delusion;—to wit, the fact that capitalism is corner-stoned on confiscation, and that confiscation is a prop and a boost to the capitalist class; consequently, that its vaunted "Sacredness of Property" is but a hoodoo.

The Parable starts with the capitalists in existence. How came they to be capitalists? "Their diligence and craft," is all the explanation given in the Parable, "had placed in their hands stores of water where others could find none." The least to be said against such a summing up of the genesis of capital is that it is "mild"; indeed, it is so mild as to be positively wrong. Capital cannot start without a "proletariat,"—a population stripped of all opportunities to support itself, and thus compelled to sell itself into wage slavery for a living. Such a proletariat, in sufficient numbers, was not ready at hand; it had to be produced forcibly. The process by which the proletarians were produced was mainly the physically tearing them away from the land, from their natural opportunities (whence the modern single tax vagary draws much of its historically illogic argumentation), and here and there by taxing them out of their social opportunities (whence similarly unscientific minds, reasoning with equally bad logic, raise to-day the hue-and-cry of taxation as a question that vitally affects the modern workers). With their property, social and natural opportunities, confiscated, large masses were rough-handedly proletarianized and capitalism could start. In his graphic chapter on the genesis of capital, in which the horrors of this process are described, Marx sums up the facts saying:

> If money, according to Augier, "comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek," capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.

After thus lightly passing by the confiscatory genesis of capital, the Parable falls into an error that may be termed the logical sequence of its false start. At the recurring crises, the Parable causes the capitalists to exclaim: "Our gains do make us poor." Here again, and even more so than before, the confiscatory character of capital is overlooked. It is a feature of the crisis that it is a period of rich harvest for the capitalist. During the crisis whole shoals of the smaller fry are swept out of existence; their competitive game, always difficult, then becomes impossible; and their property passes by virtual confiscation into the hands of the surviving capitalists. Individuals go down, and the capitalist class becomes smaller but infinitely richer;—the gains of these do not make them poorer; just the reverse; then it is that their character as CONFISCATORS steps forward into strong relief, swelling their gains.

This is no "fault-finding" criticism. Sufficiently thankless is the task of pointing out errors in the works of one who has contributed as much as Bellamy has done towards disarming opposition to Socialism. The criticism is needed. It is needed for this reason:

Among the leading obstacles that the Apostle of Socialism encounters in his path is the superstitious reverence of the proletariat for the "industry," the "thrift," the "abstinence" that produces the "original accumulation" of capital; for the "Rights" of Capital; in short, for the "Sanctity of Property," as preached by capitalism, and its peaceful law-abiding nature. Again, quoting Marx:

> It is not enough that the conditions for work are concentrated in a mass, in the shape of capital, at the one pole of society, while at the other are grouped masses of men who have nothing to sell but their labor-power. Neither is it enough that these are compelled to sell it voluntarily. The advance of capitalist production develops a working class which, by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of nature.

That mental poise that induces the masses, by education, tradition and habit to bow down before and accept things, as they are, as self-evident laws of nature and proper, is a most difficult one to overcome. Among the preposterous lies of the capitalist repertory of lies, the lie about its instincts of peacefulness, of order and of respect for property is the most preposterous. It must be torn to pieces. The confiscatory character of capitalism can not be too frequently repeated or too much emphasized. Corner-stoned on downright confiscation, capitalism thrives into tyrannous over-lordship by confiscation.

And this important fact "The Parable of the Tank" slurs over.

The attention of Party members, and of all others who earnestly follow the Party's concerns, is hereby called to the important document—"The Situation In New York; Statement by the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., to the Party Membership and to Voters of the S. L. P. Ticket Throughout the Land"—, adopted at a special session, Sunday, April 23, and published on the 7th page of this issue.

The Socialist Labor Party carried the village of Glen Carbon, Ill., at the election held on the 18th of last month. Peter McCall, the S. L. P. candidate, was elected President of the village, and Mat Harth, S. L. P., Trustee. The S. L. P. ticket received 40 straight votes.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Saginaw, Mich., "Exponent" seems to have lived so far with its eyes shut. It is "calling attention" to the fact that "several union men have been nominated for office" in the municipal campaign, and it urges their election on the ground of "the beneficial result of having a good-sized delegation of labor representatives in the Council."

The "Exponent" does not seem to know that fifteen and odd years ago the then powerful K. of L. captured whole municipalities; from the Mayor down they had it all, and in many other places they elected many candidates. Was Labor benefited thereby? Not in the least; the reaction set in, and things went from bad to worse.

Neither does the "Exponent" seem to know that in other ways many a "union man" came to office, and yet no good came of it: the condition of the working class going down all along and all the same.

Why was this thus?

Simply because these successful "union men" candidates did not represent Labor.

Labor can not be represented but by class-conscious workingmen. The workingman who is not class-conscious does Labor no more good in office than any capitalist there. Nay, worse, being cass-unconscious, and, consequently, ignorant, he will slip at every turn, fall at every other, and wind up by throwing up the sponge; he will conclude that there is no hope of salvation for the WORKING CLASS and he will then seek to save HIMSELF. Corruption is the inevitable ditch into which all such "union men" fall into,—to the increased suffering of Labor.

Class-consciousness is the quality that distinguishes the "union men," who can really represent Labor, from the "union man" who can't and who will with the regularity of clockwork sell out Labor.

The Cincinnati, O., "Iron Molders' Journal" has an article from Fred. W. Long that triturates the Single Tax with deserved ridicule and satire. The following is one of its best passages:.

> In the wax-works show of the Single Taxers three figures stand out pre-eminent. One figure is labeled "GOOD CAPITALIST—Carries on production under great difficulties—Friend of the laboring man, and not his exploiter (see George)—Couldn't rob if he wanted to—Is himself robbed." Another image bears this card: "LABORER—Good man, but doesn't know much—Won't believe he is Mark Hanna's brother, and can't grasp the incidence of taxation." Further along a third dummy, rigged up to resemble the Duke of Argyll, carries this "definition": "LANDLORD—Regular old devil—Robs both the gents you have just passed—Won't pay his taxes—Take a shot at the cuss." Other minor figures, bearing similar remarkable inscriptions, combine to make up an "Economic museum for the instruction of old and young," which has at least added amusement to the hum-drum lives of most of its adult patrons and inspired wide-eyed wonderment in the kids. As a means of livelihood for its proprietor it was a success, by reason both of the box-office receipts and the gold standard sympathy of those who saw in the sacred lessons intended to be conveyed a long-needed vindication of character for themselves and other good things to be pushed along.

With ice-house cucumber coolness that suggests the question, Is the writer of such stuff a marble-hearted villain or a marble-headed block-head? the Newark, N. J., "New Education" says:

> Equip yourself with a first-class business education. Arm yourself with a good handwriting, facility in shorthand and typewriting, a working knowledge of bookkeeping, business practice, and commercial law. Learn to write an A1 business letter, and acquire the habit and reputation of being a first-class enterprising hustler. Go to a good commercial school for a term or two and make a record. In the meantime read good books, cultivate good company and keep an eye out for an opening. Be a genuine rough-rider in the pluck that leaps the ditches and tears down the barb-wire trochas of difficulty and adversity. Keep your eye on the advancing banner of success and follow it to the summit. This is the American way. Prove that you are an American. Press forward. Stay with the fight. Get there.

Get there? Where? Surely not into comforts; surely not into the possession of sufficient wealth to insure the dignity of your old age; surely not into the possession of sufficient funds to enable you to worthily provide for a wife and for the childhood pleasures of your children;—unless you "get there" by crooked ways, and then you blast your existence and transmit the leprosy to your descendants.

Where you WILL get to by strictly following the advice of the "New Education" is into the state in which, like a well-fed sheep, your capitalist fleecer will be able to get off you a larger clipping. The greater the abilities of man, if he has not the necessary tools of production to work with, only so much more wool is he a yielder of to the capitalist class; to himself, such increased abilities yield nothing.

Not unless, coupled with such abilities, a man equips himself with the economic and social knowledge that will enlighten him upon the fact that, without his ownership of capital, he can only earn his living at the mercy of some capitalist and is bound to be a wage slave; not unless he acquires that knowledge too, and, with it, joins the army of the militant proletariat, will he ever really "get there." With such knowledge, and only with such knowledge, will or could he hustle to a purpose. With such knowledge he would indeed tear the barb-wire trochas of difficulty, and smashing them up with the Arm and Hammer of the Socialist Labor Party, hew his way to the summit of success.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

THE TRUST.

By Daniel De Leon.

[This article was one of eight others, published in the New York "Independent," as a symposium on the Trust Question.]

What is the Trust?

The trust is essentially a tool of production. The difference between the trust and the oldest style of privately owned tool, seen now only in museums, is a difference, not of kind, but of degree.

Man is a tool-using animal. The tool adds inches to his stature over nature by increasing the productivity of his labor. The same instinct that led man to fashion the first tool pushes him on to improve it. The more pefect the instrument of production, the more abundant are the fruits of labor. The trend of civilization is to render the product of labor so abundant that the burden of arduous toil, together with want or the fear of want, for the material necessaries of life may be lifted from the shoulders and the minds of man, and, thus raised above animal needs, his individuality, his intellectual and moral faculties may have free play. The rungs of the ladder, up which man climbs toward civilization, are the ever more perfect tools of production.

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The development of the tool, or instrument of production, is twofold. It gathers power individually; it also gathers power collectively, by concentration.

The tool gathers power individually by keeping lively step with the discoveries of science and the maturing genius of man; the old handloom becomes a steam and Northrop loom; the old agricultural implements become steam plows, reapers and harvesters.

The collective power, however, of the tool is gathered by a bitter experience. In the course of its growth, the tool encounters a serious obstacle, that threatens it with nullification. Its aim, the increase of the store of wealth, is for a time balked. The tool is a weapon against the foe of the race—POVERTY. The wastefulness of competition turns the weapon's edge against itself. Only a long and bitter experience taught the lesson and suggested the remedy—CONCENTRATION. The discovery once made, it points and paves the way to further improvements. First is born the PARTNERSHIP of two individuals; then follows the partnership of two or more partnerships—the CORPORATION; next appears the partnership of several corporations—the TRUST.

The trust is that doubly developed instrument of production that combines both the highest individual and the highest collective development so far reached. It brings the productivity of human effort up to the highest point so far attained by the individual perfection of the tool. As such, the trust raises man to giant's stature over nature; it is a weapon that makes for civilization.

But this is not the whole truth.

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It is not over nature alone that the tool adds inches to the individual; it also adds inches to him over the toolless man. This pregnant socio-economic fact does not from the start manifest itself.

So long as the tool is slight and simple, he who wants it can readily bring it forth by the direct application of his labor to nature, and thereby place himself on a par with whomsoever already is in possession of its equal. But the tool develops. Its development is not from within, like organic matter. The feature of its development is the need and increasing need of other tools, besides increased powers of steam and electricity, to carve it out of nature with, and thus render it more potent by rendering it more fruitful. The tool used in production presently needs two, three, four other tools to bring it forth. Even then its acquisition by individual man, to the end of enabling him to compete with those already in possession of its like, may not be impossible, though the process becomes harder by degrees. When, however, the tool has finally reached that individual perfection of a Northrop loom, a Mergenthaler typesetter, a hydraulic press, a steam plow, reaper and binder, a Westinghouse electric engine, a cotton harvester, etc., and even long before that, none can any longer himself conjure forth its equal out of nature. When to this individual growth is coupled the collective development or concentration implied in the trust, free competition ceases de facto, whatever it may remain in theory.

The trust is the highest form of collective development the tool can reach under the system of private ownership in the machinery of production. But the gigantic powers it wields over nature accrue to those only who hold it; to all others it becomes a scourge. As such, the trust blocks the nation's path on its march to civilization.

Once the tool has reached this stage, it stands transmuted into a social-industrial power that emphasizes the changes which society has been undergoing since the privately owned tool first appeared, especially since the time when it entered upon the period of its rapid development; it carries these changes further, and it forces to the fore a new social problem.

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We love to think that the Revolutionary Fathers gave our people political freedom. They did not. The ballot was conditioned upon property qualifications. This simple fact is of deep import in the study of the problem presented by the trust.

Then the tool of production was slight; it was easily acquired; and, consequently, property was the ready reward of industry. At such a time the role played by property was not yet manifest; indeed, it escaped the Revolutionary Fathers, except the two wisest and most far-seeing of them all—Franklin and Madison. At that time, accordingly, economic issues were absent from our party platforms; the people divided on issues essentially political. With the turning of the century a change comes over the surface; economic questions force themselves more and more to the front; they were prominent during the Jackson administrations; they became dominant in the Harrison-Van Buren campaign; to-day they are the all-absorbing topic. This change in the physiognomy of our politics has followed closely, and has been brought on by the development of the tool under the system of private ownership.

Competition is predicated upon the capacity of competitors to sell equally cheap; this capacity depends upon the power to produce with equal abundance, and this, in turn, is in direct ratio to the development of the tool. With the approach and appearance in the country's industrial arena of a tool, privately owned and so far developed that its creation by those without it was no longer feasible, these ceased to be qualified for the competitive warfare, and the commonweal began to be differentiated into three hostile social classes:

First, the Proletariat—the wholly toolless class, who, no longer able to exercise their labor function without access to tools not owned by themselves, are reduced to the level of merchandise, and compelled to sell their labor power in the labor market for a living;

Second, the Middle Class—the class who, though armed with tools sufficiently powerful to exclude the toolless class, find it harder and harder to hold their own in competition with the more powerful and ever-perfecting tools held by the class above; and,

Third, the Capitalist Class—the class who, possessed of the prerequisites for successful competition, can shift work from their own to the shoulders of the proletariat; can live in idleness upon "profits"—i. e., upon the difference between what their employés produce and the "wages" paid to them—i. e., the market price of labor; and can, with their more abundant and cheaper production, undersell the class below, and reduce it to the grade of proletarians.

These class distinctions—proletarian dependence, deepening misery and increasing numbers; middle class precariousness of existence, declining powers and ruin; capitalist idleness, swelling affluence and masterhood—together with the class conflicts into which capitalism casts society, long remained veiled. The trust rends the veil. The several views held on the trust are mainly the class-conscious expressions of the three hostile economic classes into which capitalist society is divided, and which are shaken into class-consciousness by the relentless logic of capitalist development manifested in the appearance of the trust.

The capitalist class seeks to uphold the trust in order to maintain its own class supremacy. Its spokesmen tire not truthfully to point out the inevitableness of concentration in productive powers, together with the advantages that flow therefrom in increased production and cheapness; they conceal, however, the blood that stains the trail of the trust, or even deny the existence of such by inundating the country with rosy statistics, gotten up to order, on the condition of the people. But—"Meloria probant, deteriora sequuntur."[*]

The middle class, though itself ready to profit by the dependence of the toolless proletariat, is up in arms against the trust, whose superior power is crushing it. It chooses to see only the ravages wrought by the trust; it inveighs against "monopoly," while it upholds "capital"; ignorant of the economico-juridic contradiction implied in such a position, it clamors for the overthrow of the "monster," or, at least, for the clipping of its wings; and lawyers who are not jurists, together with economists who are not scientists, encourage the folly with their twaddle.

Lastly, goaded into mental activity by the smarts it suffers from the capitalist, and untrammeled by the class interests of the middle class, the class-conscious proletariat is pushed beyond both the conservatism of the former and the reactionary posture of the latter. Its class interests reveal to it the two leading features of the trust; the development by concentration of the tool, which makes for progress, and its system of private ownership, which blocks progress; its class interests make it aware of the contradiction, and direct it to save the good and permanent feature by stripping it of the evil and temporary one. The class-conscious proletariat pushes the evolutionary movement onward by straining for the public ownership of the trust.

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The ladder, up which mankind has been climbing toward civilization, the ever more powerful tool of production, is the storm center around which the modern social storm rages.

The capitalist class seeks to keep it for its own exclusive use.

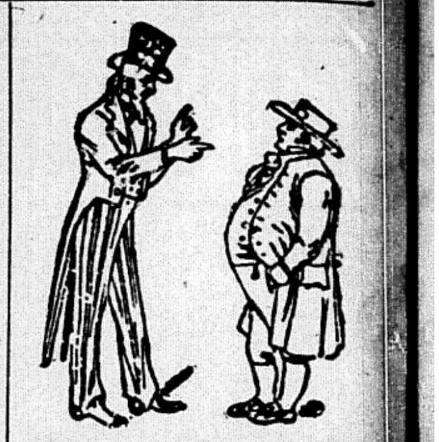
The middle class seeks to break it down, thereby throwing civilization back.

The proleariat seeks to preserve it and improve it, and to open it to all.

[*] They prove better things, but worse follows.

Attention is hereby called to a typographical blunder that crept into last week's report of the special session, held by the N. E. C. on Sunday, April 16. From the report it appears that the motion made by Stahl, granting the application of the "Volkszeitung's" Board of Directors to insert in THE PEOPLE a rejoinder to the article "Sign-Posts" of April 2, was voted on by only 5 out of the 7 members of the N. E. C., to wit, against: Sanial, Matchett, Murphy and Keep; for: Stahl. This was wrong. The vote stood, against: Sanial, Matchett, Murphy, Keep, Brown and Kinneally; for: Stahl.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eigteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—I think Socialists would make decidedly more progress if they would do a certain thing.

Uncle Sam—Which?

B. J.—They should accurately define the Co-operative Commonwealth.

U. S.—How define?

B. J.—They should describe accurately how things will be instituted; the organization of society; how the various wheels will look and how they will operate. Do you catch on?

U. S.—Gues I do.

B. J.—You agree?

U. S.—Let's see. You know all about Columbus, don't you?

B. J.—I know some; he could make an egg stand on end; and he discovered America.

U. S.—We shall limit ourselves to his discovery of America. You know, too, that he went from court to court, from country to country, stating his conclusion that by traveling westward he would strike land?

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—Was he believed by all who heard him?

B. J.—No, indeed; he had a hard time of it to make people understand the soundness of his views.

U. S.—Now, imagine some smarty, like yourself, had drawn him aside and whispered confidentially to him: "Columbus, you are not making any great headway in convincing people. You would make decidedly more progress if you would draw up a map of the land that you say lies westward; point out exactly how the coast looks; where the mountains rise and how high; the lakes, the rivers, the planes, the highlands. If you did that people would soon be converted." How do you imagine Columbus would have looked upon that friendly adviser?

B. J.—He must have looked upon him as any one does at a donkey braying.

U. S.—Correct. And why?

B. J.—Why? Because it was suggesting an impossibility.

U. S.—And so is your suggestion. Columbus reasoned that, the world being round, if you travel westward you are bound to reach land—the shape of that land could not be described. Likewise, the Socialist. He reasons that the system of the ownership must tally with the system of operation of the tools of production. When the tools were so small that each individual could operate them they were owned individually, i. e., privately. Now they have become so gigantic that they neither can nor are operated individually; they are operated collectively, consequently they must be owned—

B. J.—As collectively as they are operated.

U. S.—As the whole nation now collectively operates its land and capital, so should and will the whole nation, and not a set of individuals, be the owners thereof. The Socialist were foolish if he went a step further than to show the general outline of what is coming and why. Like Columbus, he says the Co-operative Commonwealth lies ahead of us, and, like Columbus, who never attempted to give the details of the land, the Socialist will refuse to palm off dreams for facts.

B. J.—I think I see.

U. S.—But look you here. Between the Socialist and Columbus there is this difference. Europe could have gone on without the discovery of America; but civilization cannot go on without the Co-operative or Socialist Commonwealth. That Socialist would be wasting his time who did not concentrate all his efforts in the endeavor to demonstrate that Socialism is inevitable; and no sensible man wants or needs further information on the subject than the broad outline of the public ownership of all that is needed for producing the necessaries of life.

In the Holyoke, Mass., Board of Alderman, M. Ruther, S. L. P., moved that the city laborers be given a holiday on Monday, May 1, with full pay. The motion was defeated, Comrade Ruther alone voting for it; his Democratic and Republican fellow-members demonstrated their oneness as lackeys of the capitalist class by solidly voting against the motion.

When the vote was announced, Comrade Ruther notified the Board that next fall more Socialists would be elected and then such and still more important labor votes will be carried.

Onward, Comrades!

By Arthur Clough.

Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes proved false, fears may be liars;
Perhaps, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And but for you possess the field.

For, as the tired waves, ceaseless breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes flooding in the main.

And not through eastern windows only,
When daylight breaks, breaks in the light,
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!
But westward look, the land lies bright.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

LABOR AND LABOR-POWER.

[Translated from the German of Frederick Engels for the MAY DAY PEOPLE by H. Simpson, New York.]

Classical political economy borrowed from the industrial practice the vulgar idea of the manufacturer that he buys and pays for the LABOR of his workers. This idea sufficed very well for the business purposes, bookkeeping and price calculations of the manufacturer. Naively carried over into political economy, it produced the most wonderful errors and confusions.

Political economy finds it an established fact that the prices of all commodities, among them the price of the commodity which it calls "labor," continually change; that they rise and fall in consequence of the most diverse circumstances, which frequently have nothing whatever to do with the production of the commodity itself, so that prices seem to be determined, as a rule, by mere chance. So soon, therefore, as economics stepped forward as a science it was one of its first tasks to search for the law that hid itself behind this chance, which apparently determined the prices of commodities, and that in reality controlled this very chance. Among the prices of commodities, fluctuating and oscillating, now upwards now downwards, it searched for the fixed central point about* which these fluctuations and oscillations were taking place. In short: starting from the PRICES of commodities, political economy sought for the VALUE of commodities as their regulating law, by means of which all price fluctuations can be explained, and to which they can all be reduced in the last resort.

Well, classical economy found that the value of a commodity is determined by the labor incorporated in it and required for its production. With this explanation it was satisfied. And we too may for the present stop at this point. Only to avoid misconceptions, I will remind the reader that this explanation has become to-day altogether inadequate. Marx was the first to examine thoroughly the value-forming quality of labor and to discover that not all labor which is apparently or even really necessary to the production of a commodity, contributes under all circumstances to this commodity a value-magnitude corresponding to the quantity of labor used up. If, therefore, we say to-day for short with economists like Ricardo that the value of a commodity is determined by the labor necessary for its production, we always imply the restrictions and reservations made by Marx. Thus much for our present purpose; further information can be found in Marx's "Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie," and in the first volume of "Capital."

But so soon as the economists applied this determination of value by labor to the commodity "labor," they fell from one contradiction into another. How is the value of "labor" determined? By the necessary labor incorporated in it. But how much labor is embodied in the labor of a laborer during one day, one week, one month, one year? The labor of a day, a week, a month, a year. If labor is the measure of all values, the "value of labor" can be expressed only in labor. But we know absolutely nothing of the value of one hour's labor, if all that we know about it is that it is equal to one hour's labor. With this we do not approach one hair's breadth nearer our aim; we turn ourselves endlessly in a circle.

Hence, classical economy essayed another turn; it said: the value of a commodity equals the cost of its production. But what is the cost of the production of labor? In order to answer this question, the economists are forced to violate logic just a little. Instead of inquiring into the cost of production of labor itself, which unfortunately can not be found out, they inquire into the cost of the production of the LABORER. And this latter can be found out. It varies according to time and circumstances, but for a given condition of society, in a given locality, and in a given branch of production, this too is given, at least within quite narrow limits. We live to-day under the régime of capitalist production, under which a large and ever-growing class of the population can live only on the condition that it work for the possessors of the means of production (tools, machinery, raw materials and means of subsistence) in return for wages. On the basis of this mode of production, the laborer's cost of production consists of the sum of the means of subsistence (or their price in money) that on the average are requisite to enable him to work and to replace him at his departure through age, sickness or death, with another laborer; that is, of the means of subsistence required for the propagation of the working class in sufficient strength. Let us assume that the money-price of these means of subsistence is on the average three shillings a day.

Our laborer gets therefore a daily wage of three shillings from his employing capitalist. The capitalist lets him work for this, say, twelve hours. Our capitalist, moreover, calculates somewhat in the following fashion:

Let us assume that our laborer—a machine worker—has to make a piece of a machine that he finishes in one day. The raw material—iron and brass in the necessary, prepared form—cost 20 shillings. The consumption of coal by the steam engine, the wear and tear of this engine itself, of the turning lathe and of the other tools with which our laborer works, represent, for one day and one laborer, a value of 1 shilling. The wages of one day are on our assumption 3 shillings. This makes a total of 24 shillings for our machine piece. The capitalist, however, calculates that on an average he gets for it from his customers a price of 27 shillings, or 3 shillings over and above his outlay.

Whence do the 3 shillings pocketed by the capitalist come? According to the assertion of classical economy, commodities are in the long run sold at their values, that is, they are sold at prices corresponding to the necessary quantities of labor contained in them. The average price of our machine piece—27 shillings—would therefore equal its value, or the labor contained in it. But of these 27 shillings, 21 shillings were previously existing values, before our machine worker began to work. 20 shillings were contained in the raw material, 1 shilling in the coal which was burnt up during the work and in the machines and tools which were in use and were reduced in their value to this extent through wear and tear. There remain 6 shillings, which have been added to the value of the raw material. But these 6 shillings can arise, according to the supposition of the economists themselves, only from the labor added to the raw material by our laborer. His twelve hours' labor has created, according to this, a new value of 6 shillings. Therefore, the value of his twelve hours' labor equals 6 shillings. So we have, at last, discovered what the "value of labor" is.

"Hold on!" cries our machine worker. "Six shillings? I have received only three shillings! My capitalist swears high and dry that the value of my twelve hours' labor is no more than three shillings, and were I to demand six, he'd laugh at me. The two don't fit together!"

If before this we got with our value of labor into a vicious circle, without a way out, now surely we have gotten ourselves into an insoluble contradiction! We looked for the value of labor, and we found more than we can use. For the laborer, the value of twelve hours' labor is 3 shillings, for the capitalist 6 shillings, of which he gives 3 to the laborer and pockets the remaining 3. According to this, labor has not one but two values, and moreover, two very different ones!

The contradiction becomes yet more contradictory as soon as we reduce the value, expressed in money, to labor. In the twelve hours' labor, there is created a new value of six shillings. Hence, in six hours a new value of three shillings is created,—the sum which the laborer receives for twelve hours' labor. For the labor of twelve hours the laborer gets the product of six hours' labor as an equal counter-value. Hence, we are forced to one of two conclusions: either labor has two values, one of which is twice as large as the other, or twelve equals six! In both cases we get pure absurdities.

Turn and twist as we may, we do not get out of this contradiction, so long as we speak of the sale and purchase of labor and of the value of labor. And just so it was with the economists. The last offshoot of classical economy, the Ricardian school, was largely wrecked on the insolubility of this contradiction. Classical economy ran itself into a blind alley. The man who discovered the way out of the blind alley, was Karl Marx.

What the economists considered the cost of production "of labor," was the cost of production not of labor, but of the living laborer himself. And what this laborer sold to the capitalist was not his labor. "So soon as his labor really begins," says Marx, "it ceases to belong to him, can no longer, therefore, be sold by him." At most, he can sell his FUTURE labor, that is, undertake the obligation to do a certain work at a certain time. But in this way he does not sell labor (which would yet have to be done), but for a stipulated payment he puts at the disposal of the capitalist his labor-power for a certain time (in the case of time-wages) or for a certain work (in the case of piece-wages): he hires out or sells his LABOR-POWER. But this labor-power is united with his person and inseparable from it. Its cost of production coincides therefore with his cost of production; what the economists called the cost of production of labor, is really the cost of production of the laborer and, therewith, of his labor-power. And so we can go back from the cost of porduction of labor-power to the value of labor-power, and determine the quantity of socially necessary labor that is required for the production of a labor-power of a given quality, as Marx has done in the chapter on the purchase and sale of labor-power ("Capital," Chapter VI.).

Now, what happens after the laborer has sold his labor-power to the capitalist, that is, has put it at his disposal for stipulated wages, whether time-wages or piece-wages? The capitalist takes the workingman into his workshop or factory where all the things, necessary for the work, can be found, —raw materials, auxiliary materials (coal, coloring materials, etc.), tools and machines. Here the worker begins to toil. His wages are, as above, three shillings, and it makes no difference whether he earns them as day-wages or piece-wages. We assume, again as before, that the worker adds to the raw materials used up by his labor a new value of six shillings, which new value the capitalist realizes at the sale of the completed piece of work. Of these six shillings he pays three shillings to the laborer, and retains the remaining three shillings. If now the laborer creates in twelve hours a value of 6 shillings, in six hours he creates a value of 3 shillings. After working six hours for the capitalist, the laborer has thus returned to him the counter-value of 3 shillings contained in the wages. After six hours' work both are even, neither owing one penny to the other.

"Hold on!" cries now the capitalist. "I have hired the laborer for an entire day, for twelve hours. But six hours are only half a day. You have got to toil on until the remaining six hours are past—only then will we be quits!" And, in truth, the laborer has to submit to the conditions imposed by the contract upon which he "voluntarily" entered, and according to which he bound himself to work twelve full hours for a product of labor costing six hours' labor.

Similary with piece-wages. Let us assume that in twelve hours our laborer produces twelve commodities. Each of these costs 2 shillings in raw material and wear and tear, and is sold for 2½ shillings. On our former assumption, the capitalist gives the laborer one-fourth of a shilling for each piece; this makes a total of 3 shillings for twelve pieces which the worker earns in twelve hours. The capitalist gets 30 shillings for the twelve pieces; deducting 24 shillings for raw material and wear and tear, there remain 6 shillings, of which he pays 3 shillings in wages, and pockets the other 3. Just as above. Here too the laborer works six hours for himself, that is, to compensate for his wages (in each of the twelve hours, one-half hour), and six hours for the capitalist.

The difficulty which the best economists did not overcome as long as they started from the value of "labor," disappears so soon as we make our starting-point the value of "labor-POWER." Labor-power is in our present capitalist society a commodity, like any other commodity, but yet a very peculiar commodity. It has, namely, the peculiarity of being the value-creating power, the source of value, and moreover, when properly treated, the source of more value than itself possesses. In the present state of production human labor-power not only produces in a day more value than itself possesses and costs; but with every new scientific discovery, with every new technical invention, rises the surplus of its day's product over its day's cost, diminishes that part of the working day in which the laborer produces a return for his day's wages, and on the other hand lengthens that part of the working day in which he must PRESENT his labor gratis to the capitalist.

And this is the economic constitution of our entire modern society: the working class alone produces all values. For value is only another expression for labor, that expression namely, with which is designated, in our latter-day capitalist society, the quantity of socially necessary labor embodied in a commodity. But these values produced by the workers do not belong to the workers. They belong to the possessors of the raw materials, machines, tools and money, which enable them to buy the labor-power of the laboring class. Hence, the working class gets back only a part of the entire mass of products produced by it. And as we have seen above, that part which the capitalist class retains, and which it has to share, at most, with the landlord class, is growing with every new discovery and invention, while the share which falls to the working class (per capita) rises but little and very slowly, or not at all, and under certain circumstances it may even fall.

But these discoveries and inventions which supplant one another with ever increasing speed, this productivity of human labor rising from day to day to unheard-of proportions, at last gives rise to a conflict in which present capitalistic economy must go to ruin. On the one hand, immeasurable wealth and a superfluity of products with which the buyers cannot cope. On the other hand, the great mass of society proletarized, turned into wage laborers, and thereby disabled from appropriating that superfluity of products. The splitting up of society into a small class, immoderately rich, and a large class of wage laborers devoid of all property, brings it about that this society smothers in its superfluity, while the great majority of its members are hardly, or not at all, protected from extreme want. This condition becomes every day more absurd and unnecessary. It MUST be got rid of, it CAN be got rid of. A new social order is possible, in which existing class differences will have disappeared, and in which there will be—perhaps after a short transition period, which, though brief, will be very useful morally—through the systematic use and further development of the enormous productive powers of the members of society even now existing, with equal obligation for all to work,—the means of life, of the enjoyment of life, and of the development and activity of all bodily and mental faculties. And that the workingmen are becoming ever more determined to fight for this new social order until it is won, will be proven on both sides of the ocean by the dawning First of May, and Sunday, the third of May.

London, April 30, 1891.

More Municipal Returns.

JACKSONVILLE, Ill.—At the election on April 18, the vote was:
D. F. Heinrich, Mayor, 89.
L. Emerich, City Clerk, 87.
Val Martis, Treasurer, 91.
J. E. Snyder, Alderman (Ward 1), 31½.
Ed. Vasconcellos, Alderman (Ward 2), 117.
G. Renner, Alderman (Ward 3), 57½.
Ben Miller, Alderman (Ward 4), 196.
Last fall the vote was 45.

General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A.

At session of April 20, 9 charters were granted comprising an aggregate of over 1,000 members, as follows:
Fitchburg Weavers' Alliance, Fitchburg, Mass.
Du Bois Miners' Alliance, Du Bois, Pa.
Textile Workers' Alliance, North Smithfield, R. I.
Dodgeville Weavers' Alliance, Attleboro, Mass.
Quidnick Weavers' Alliance, Warwick, R. I.
Riverpoint Textile Workers' Alliance, Warwick, R. I.
Building Trade Helpers, Scranton, Pa.
Greenock Miners' Alliance, Greenock, Pa.
Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers, N. Y. City, N. Y.

A large amount of correspondence was read denoting a very great general interest in the Movement. The correspondence from D. A. 15, Pittsburg, Pa., stated that Comrade Schulberg was agitating in Clearfield County, Pa.; the United Mine Workers' fakirs had called a meeting for the previous Saturday afternoon, but the hall was so packed with the "Red Button Brigade" that the leaders, Warner, McKay and several others, sizing up the temper of the meeting refused to call the meeting to order. On Sunday afternoon another meeting was held where Comrades Schulberg, Munro and others spoke, completely knocking out the pure and simple fakirs.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

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LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

Growth of the Party's Literary Agency, and Significance Thereof.

The growth of the party is registered in several ways: the increase of the vote from 36,000, in 1896, to 82,000, in 1898; the increase in the number of Sections from 200 reported in the National Convention of 1896 to over 400 at present; the doubling of the circulation of THE PEOPLE; the establishment and maintenance of several local party papers, the "Class Struggle," "Tocsin," "Workers' Call," etc.; and finally the continuous and systematic agitation carried on in all parts of the country. All these elements of the party's life show unmistakably a healthy growth.

There is however another factor, not less important to the progress of the party than any of those mentioned above. And yet, strange as it may seem, it is generally ignored not only by the enemy but even by active party members. We mean the spread of the party's literature and the growth of the institution entrusted with this work: the N. Y. Labor News Company. The reason for this seeming anomaly is obvious. All the other factors mentioned above do their work in the open light of day and in full view of the public, while the Labor News Co. deals directly with individuals only so that the general public was hardly aware of its existence. Though located until recently on the top floor of the Labor Lyceum, it did its work, so to say, underground, mole fashion. But the subjoined account of the growth of the party's literary agency during the last six years will show that the mole is "a worthy pioneer" and that it has "worked in the earth fast" indeed.

CASH INCOME

of the Labor News Company from 1893 to 1898:

1893	$884.15
1894	1,104.17
1895	2,569.47
1896	2,592.93
1897	2,774.55
1898	3,819.44

The cash income does not represent the entire amount of literature sold. But it shows that the sales have more than quadrupled in six years.

The activity of the Labor News Co. has been most marked since August 1, 1898. It was then that the series of changes was inaugurated which culminated in the removal to 147 East 23d street, the opening of a store which will no doubt prove a great help to the agitation in the metropolis, and the establishment on a firm basis of a book business which has, we believe, the largest stock of bona fide Socialist literature to be found anywhere in the English-speaking world. The cash income from that date, August 1, 1898, to February 28, 1899, was $8,108.75. That is to say, the amount of business done in these 7 months exceeds nearly FOUR TIMES that of the entire year 1893, and is larger than the total amount of the entire preceding year, 1897.

But alongside of this quantitative increase there is also a qualitative improvement. Time was when "Merrie England" was almost the entire stock in trade. Now, whatever the merits of that book might be, it has one fundamental defect: its thought is not entirely emancipated from the thraldom of bourgeois domination. Its enormous popularity is in fact due to this defect: it is easily understood by the masses of the people filled as they are with bourgeois views, notions and prejudices. Its writer has not raised himself to an understanding of the process of historical evolution and of the dominant role of the struggle of classes in that evolution. This is now changed. "Merrie England" has been dethroned from its supremacy and is now largely replaced by that class of literature which is imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and swayed by the mighty genius of Karl Marx.

During the entire year 1898, "Merrie England" was sold in 5,218 copies.

During the 7 months from August 1, 1898, to February 28, 1899, the Labor News Co. sold:

Marx—"Capital," 108 copies; "Eighteenth Brumaire," 446; "Communist Manifesto," 551. Labor Library (the four Kautsky pamphlets, Engel's "Development of Socialism," and Lafargue's "Religion of Capital"), 4,348 copies; Lafargue's "Right to be Lazy," 523; McClure's "Socialism," 623; Connolly's "Erin's Hope," 1,007. De Leon—"Reform or Revolution," 925; "What Means this Strike?" 7,801.

"What Means this Strike?" with its central idea of the class struggle and its uncompromising tone has supplanted in the favor of the public "Merrie England" with its invertebrate sentimentalism. It is now only about one year since the publication of "What Means this Strike?" and nearly three editions, aggregating 15,000 copies, have been sold!

The following additional figures will be of interest.

From November 22, 1898, to February 28, 1899, were sold 442 of Lassalle's pamphlets ("Workingmen's Program" and "What is Capital").

From December 13, 1898, to February 28, 1898, were sold 167 of Marx's "Wage Labor and Capital," which has just been introduced to the American public.

From October 19, 1888, to February 28, 1899, were sold 1,877 of the "Socialist Almanac."

From February 8, 1899, to February 28 were sold 1,925 copies of the first "Supplement to the Socialist Almanac." 1,925 in 20 days!

These figures show what the Labor News Co. is destined to become: not only a powerful agency of propaganda but also a source of income to the National Executive Committee for agitation and organization. And it depends on the zeal of the comrades to accomplish this speedily.

In conclusion we would call the attention of the comrades to the following significant fact:—The books of the Labor News Co. show that Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut buy, comparatively, the largest amount of its literature. In these States the vote of the party has advanced during the last few years with a steadiness and a vigor that is amazing to old party politicians. May not the two facts have some relation to each other?

ADVISORY BOARD, L. N. CO.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Who May Be in the S. L. P.?

To THE PEOPLE.—I am one of the class that still owns most of the tools necessary to its work, namely, a physician, though our class is rapidly approaching that of the proletarian through the agency of machinery, namely, hospitals and dispensaries. But what I write for is this. In your issue of the 2d instant you published an answer to a correspondent who related the case of a certain contractor who belonged to a Section of the S. L. P. and yet who was obliged to pay his men low wages in order to compete with other contractors, and you said this man must get out of the party "because he says his economic condition is such that he cannot live without taking advantage of others." You know that this is the condition of every business man and employer of labor in the world. That he is hopeless to alter conditions himself, and if he wants to help, seeing that these conditions are wrong, is he not honest?

I want to give full value for all I buy, but you know this is impossible, and hence I purchase things at what they are sold, knowing that I have no guarantee under any system now in existence that the workingman has been paid all that he earns. I thought once the label would help, but I know that it does not and, besides, very few things are labeled. Now it is the same way in employing labor. If a man were to pay the workingman all that he earned, there would be nothing left for interest and expenses which go hand in hand with the competitive system and usually consume all profit. The business man and small manufacturer is in many instances to-day receiving only sufficient to pay for his own services and, of course, will soon be in the proletarian's rank too. Now, I believe in the class struggle and that the interests of the employer of labor as long as he is an employer are not identical with those of the workingmen; but, at the same time, I know employers who are sick and tired of industrial competition, who want scientific Socialism, and who are ready to work hand in hand with Socialists to establish better times, yet until such times come they are compelled to be competitors and compelled to do the things they detest. Do you mean that such men shall have no right to join a S. L. P. Section? How about workingmen who work on things which they know are evils or frauds, imitation clothing, etc., goods made to deceive someone, and workingmen who work on guns and war material made to shoot down their fellow workers, and workingmen who take the places of others competing with their fellow workmen, are not these evils yet necessary to our present system? I am or was an S. L. P. man until I moved from Philadelphia, and in a quiet way I am distributing Socialist literature among the workmen here, and I want to do all that I can to eliminate the industrial struggle. Let me have your views on the question I raise.

M. V. BALL.

Warren, Pa., April 10.

[Our correspondent does us an injustice. He not only has misunderstood us, that is quite pardonable; but he misquotes us, puts in quotation-marks what we did not say, and that is less pardonable.

The case referred to was that of a contractor, who, to make a living, had to bid so low, that the wages he could afford to pay were cruelly below those paid by any others. In answer to the question whether he should be in the S. L. P., we did not say, as quoted, that he should not "because he says his economic condition is such that he can not live without taking advantage of others"; what we did say is: "The man's explanation amounts to this: 'My economic condition is so low that I can not live without I push down the living of others still lower.' Such a man has no place within the ranks of the S. L. P."—And that is quite a different thing.

To simply "take advantage" of others does not necessarily mean to eke out an existence by systematically pushing down the living of others; the latter is a decided intensification of the former; it may be difficult to draw the line exactly at the spot where the one ends and the other begins; but there can be no question that the case of the contractor in question falls decidedly within the latter category.]

As to Agitation.

To THE PEOPLE.—After a close observation, I have become convinced that the tactics pursued by some of the Sections of the Socialist Labor party in beginning the agitation only about two or three weeks prior to an election are wrong. It is my opinion that the Sections ought to begin holding open air meetings as soon as the weather permits, the speakers to explain in a clear manner the aims and objects of Socialism, our immediate demands and the reason why the working class will not, nor cannot, receive any benefit whatever through the Democratic or Republican parties, gold bugs, silver bugs, or potato bugs, as these parties do not represent the working class but represent that class which is diametrically opposed to the working class, to wit, the capitalist class. As the capitalist class lives upon surplus value (profits), it is therefore evident that any law or laws that would be enacted and enforced to increase the wages or reduce the hours of toil of the workers would decrease the profits of the capitalist class. But as the capitalists are class-conscious, their Rep-Demo party is not going to enact, and, if it does enact, will not enforce such a law or laws. Therefore, the only salvation that the working class has, is not only to vote the ticket of, but also become members of that party which alone represents the working class—the Socialist Labor party.

I am positive that if these agitation tactics are adopted by starting early, not only will it increase our vote and party membership, but will make the workers sound, clear-cut Socialists, instead of so-called Socialists who waste their time in chasing after all sorts of lighting express routes to Socialism.

To prove the correctness of my opinion, I cite the following case: The City of Hoboken has a Socialist Singing Society, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Branch No. 9, three or four progressive (?) trade unions, two German and one English Branch of the party; the Branches carried on a two week's agitation, during which time some comrades worked hard. The vote increased from 115 in the spring of 1898 to about 150 cast April 11, 1899, while the town of Weehawken, having only an English Branch of the party which was organized the early part of this year. This Branch has held a meeting almost every week since its organization, at which one or more party speakers made addresses, and the vote increased there from 27 in November, 1898, to 64 in April 11, 1899.

E. F. WEGENER.

Jersey City, April 14.

Agitation in Louisville, Ky.

To THE PEOPLE.—Two years ago, for the first time in Louisville, May Day falling upon Saturday, the comrades of our Section held a celebration. The same took place at Turner Hall, West Jefferson street. The hall was fairly crowded, although only a few outside of our party members were present. In consideration of the indifference of trades unionists, and being too small a number to make any demonstration noteworthy, and in further consideration that it will be too much work for the only few comrades faithfully performing their duties, we abandoned a May Celebration this year. But in spite of the indifference of labor organizations as a whole at present, prospects are better now than ever before. We feel confident of seeing in the near future the down-trodden proletarians, fleeced by fakirs and capitalists alike, parading the streets of Louisville with their diverse standards on May Day more cheerfully than they did heretofore on Labor Day in September.

A few months ago, a Section of the "International Social Democracy upon American soil," as they call it, was organized. The "Section," 4 members in all, sit every second Sunday afternoon at their headquarters, trying to make themselves believe that E. Debs is the true founder of modern Socialism and that within 5 years the S. L. P. will belong to the past.

It must be said, that of all local unions in this city, the Brewers' Union No. 110 is the most progressive, although it might be safe to say that among their members there is an awful wide difference as to tactics and principles of Socialism. At the same time, a good opportunity is offered to our comrades. The Brewers' Union holds now agitation meetings every month where free discussion is had. What our comrades through teaching and the distribution of literature cannot get into the heads of modern wage slaves, deplorable conditions of these and the returned McKinley prosperity, too sad for explanation, will do.

In conclusion we will state that we have taken the first step for the coming election. Section Newport and Paducah are sending encouraging news, and we hope that the number of votes cast next fall will be satisfactory to the whole party.

THE PRESS COMMITTEE

Louisville, Ky., April 24.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

E. S., NEW YORK.—The value of a ten-dollar gold piece can not remain the same, in exchange, whether the value of gold rises or falls. The rise or fall of the value of gold may be either due to the production of gold itself, or to the production of other merchandise with which it exchanges.

If the production of gold, for whatever reason, requires more expenditure of social labor-power than before, while the production of other goods remains unchanged, then the value of gold rises, and the rise is manifested in the greater quantity of other goods that becomes equivalent to a ten-dollar gold piece.

If the production of gold, for whatever reason, requires less expenditure of social labor-power than before, while the production of other goods remains unchanged, then the value of gold falls, and the fall is manifested in the smaller quantity of other goods that becomes equivalent to a ten-dollar gold piece.

Similar variations will occur if the production of other goods, for whatever reason, requires more or requires less social labor-power, while the production of gold remains unchanged. And finally, corresponding variations will set in if both other goods and gold suffer changes. This is the law in exchange.

When the ten-dollar gold piece comes in play, not in exchange, but as a "means of payment," then it is subject to previous contract, and is not affected by the subsequent fall or rise of gold.

It is in the latter capacity (as a means of payment) only that the mortgaged middle class looks at the ten-dollar gold piece; while it is in the former capacity (as a medium of exchange) only that the "Money Power," so-called, looks at the identical coin. Hence the controversy between them is utterly unscientific and becomes a wrangle.

D. B., RICHMOND, VA.—Whether the S. L. P. in power would raise taxes? You bet! Just watch the Revolution enthroned: taxes will go up sky-high; it will tax the Capitalist Class out of its eye-balls.

M. J. G., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—Do you know that too much chewing is just as likely to produce dyspepsia as too little chewing? The stomach should perform a certain amount of work; if the food is too hard, the strain on the stomach is severer than it should; if the food is too light the strain upon the stomach is too little; in either case disease follows. Now, the mind also has a stomach, and that stomach is ruled by similar laws. That the food for that stomach should not be too hard is granted; to imagine, however, that matters would be improved by making that food too light is an error. Light articles, such as you suggest, would sicken the mind's stomach and produce mental disease, just as readily as undigestible articles. You have an illustration at hand. Look at the newspaper readers; the light stuff furnished to the stomachs of their minds has rendered nine-tenths of them mental dyspeptics.

Can't take your advice. THE PEOPLE'S articles are neither too hard to digest nor too light. The mental stomach that can't digest them is crippled and may not be reckoned with.

C. L., DAYTON, O.—The "Brother Jonathan" of our "Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan" column does not stand for "John Bull," either in essence or in appearance. John Bull is always depicted in a low tile-hat, swallow-tail coat and top-boots; our Brother Jonathan is not; he is depicted in the garb of our bourgeois of the days of the Revolution, and with a Quaker's hat on. The legend has it that Washington had a Quaker friend in Philadelphia who was distinguished for his "practical sense"; he was a matter-of-fact man, close-fisted and of correspondingly narrow intellectual horizon. In the "Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan" group, Uncle Sam is taken as the type of the nation's higher aspirations, while Brother Jonathan walks on all fours.

G. M. A., BOSTON, MASS.—We don't just know what name would fit the man, who, being of the capitalist class, tears himself loose from his class interests and joins the S. L. P. He is certainly a "class-unconscious" man; true, such a designation, being negative, is clumsy; but the designation of "déclassé" would certainly be inapplicable. The term "déclassé" had an acquired, fixed and historic meaning long before the word "class" acquired its present equally sharply marked sociologic meaning. The meaning of "déclassé" is well brought out by the corresponding English term to "lose caste"; the term derives its origin from the institution of "castes"; everyone was born to a certain caste; he could not at will change his caste; if a change did take place it was only when he was cast out of his own caste; that act did not by any means make him, as a matter of course, a member of some other caste; far from it: being cast out of his own caste he could enter none other, hence he had "lost caste." This is not so with the economic classes or their members. The economic classes are fluent; they, different from the rigid caste, undergo constant changes by the losing and the acquiring of new members, and this happens irrespective of the will of any class. We have occasionally heard the term "déclassé" applied to people, who, not being themselves proletarians, join the proletarian movement; but such use of the term is loose; moreover, we consider it in bad taste: the historic meaning of "déclassé" attaches an odium to the term; none such attaches to the deliberate act of the individual who steps out of the circle of capitalist, to put himself within that of proletarian interests.

M. O. H., CLEVELAND, O.—What? W-h-a-t? Recede in view of the violent resistence encountered? Have you ever watched an ice-steamer clearing the river of ice? The resistance it encounters is often of the most violent. Does it recede? It MAY recede at intervals, but not for the purpose of giving up, only for the purpose of acquiring new impetus in its immediately following onslaught. The ice-steamer recedes, in the sense of giving up, only when the resisting ice-cakes have bent its bow. The Party's and its national organs'—THE PEOPLE'S and "Vorwaerts'"—, bow is made of too well-tempered a steel to be bent. Increased resistence, encounterd in the Party's work of cutting through error, has no other effect but to cause more steam to be put on for heavier onslaught. Think the matter over.

"FRIEND," NEW YORK.—Quite possible the hisses, with which Miss Helen Gould's name was greeted at the Bryan "Dollar Dinner" of April 19, did "proceed mainly from the Socialists and the Socialist sympathizers in the audience." Nor was that wrong. The affection of the intelligent and stalwart Movement of Labor is not to be bought with "gifts"; its indignation is not to be silenced with "hush-money." The "Dinner" was essentially a public affair, meant to be a public demonstration. Labor was sufficiently insulted by the presence there of such a man as the Tammany Sheehan, and by the greeting extended to a Judge Gaynor, who had just non-suited the mother of the lad who was murdered by the militia during the Brooklyn trolley strike. It was but a rubbing in of the affront to Labor for a speaker at the "Dinner" to refer to Miss Helen Gould as a "working woman,"—to an individual whose very existence draws its nourishment from the marrow of the working class. The incident you deprecate is rather a welcome evidence that there IS a spark of dignity among the workers. No; no; Miss Helen Gould may buy votes of thanks from capitalist Congresses and capitalist lackeys, and words of praise from capitalist flunkey speakers; but she can not buy the respect of the increasing host of class-conscious proletarians.

THE "CHIVALROUS" SOUTH.

THE CAROLINAS.

THE "COLOR LINE" DEVELOPS INTO THE "CLASS STUGGLE."

By S. F. Keinard, New York.

The meaning of the "color line" has been fundamentally changed. Instead of "race riots" being as formerly outbursts through which hostile Northern and Southern material interests found vent, now they are means of expressing the "irrepressible conflict" between united capitalists (Northern, Southern and European) and the wage workers (here predominantly negroes). "Color" playes no other part than that of locally expressing the class line, while at the same time obscuring it to the workers, just as with the nationality issue in the North.

The best example of these outbreaks is that of Wilmington, N. C., where capitalist interests, bringing to their service racial prejudice, etc., ousted the whole negro Government from its previously supreme control, the real ground being that the rule of this "improvident," "non-taxpaying," etc., etc., element had "disturbed and paralysed business."

First; Democrats,—and white Republicans at the suggestion of Republican Governor Russel—, united unanimously upon an exclusively business men's ticket. Second, the whole business fraternity, impatient and enraged, drove out the negroes by armed force, the Chamber of Commerce with its President, a New England Republican, dominating. To quote a special investigator present, an intimate of McKinley: "In the presence of what they believed to be an overwhelming crisis, THEY BRUSHED ASIDE THE GREAT PRINCIPLES THAT DIVIDE PARTIES AND INDIVIDUALS AND STOOD TOGETHER AS ONE MAN." The whole capitalist class, North and South, Democrats and Republicans, Bryan and McKinley, have since endorsed this in numberless ways.

The old, anti-capitalist, South is gone; the new, capitalist, South is here, "loyal," "patriotic" and boisterously applauds the unctuous McKinley when he jubilates over "the unification of the 'sections'" and its "blessings." "Jubilate Deo" while you may: the real sections, the working class, are also uniting under the banner of the S. L. P., and merging all their local, nationality, color, sex, and occupation fractions of the class line into one simple, enormous, iron line to crush wage slavery and send it to join its predecessor, chattel slavery, forever.

ALABAMA.

CIMERIAN CONDITIONS OF BACKWARDNESS.

By Harry R. Engel, Birmingham.

Nowhere can the progressive Labor Movement and Socialist agitation be more difficult.

For generations the Southern people have been dependent upon the negro, who is shamefully underpaid, to perform all manual and menial labor. So repugnant is the thought of work, that the suggestion of Socialism, which demands all of proper age and ability to do their share, arouses the once proud Southerner to indignation and rage.

Belligerent and blinded by race prejudice, the deepest social problem he is capable of conceiving is the foolish and most needless cry of "White Supremacy," which gives rise to suspicion that there is a lurking instinct of self-inferiority, wholly ignoring the fact that the negro is an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class with which to beat the white wage slaves into submission.

Chained to such a political and economic tread-mill of thought, the haughty Southerner dare not look to the right; neither to the left, lest he step off into public opinion which carries more weight than his own convictions.

The work of agitation and carrying on the affairs of the Party for the time being must be accomplished by and among people who have taken up their abode here from abroad, these are chiefly miners who work long hours and who, after returning home from their drudgery, feel little disposed to attend meetings, thus the work is necessarily slow and arduous.

The wide-spread illiteracy due to a woeful lack of schools and the impervious minds of the negros are among the barriers, well nigh insurmountable, encountered here.

Our literature and mode of reasoning is abstruse to people who use only a monosyllabic dialect or the patois of the negro. With this state of affairs it would be folly to make any great expenditure on propaganda or bring in aid from the Party at large, which can be applied to better advantage in localities where the minds of the working class are receptive to progersaive ideas.

Cotton mill employés, receiving from ten cents to one dollar per day, with twelve to fourteen hours at work, what hope can there be for an organization among these people, the great majority of whom can not read nor write, serfs, with no rights save the right to slave?!

Rolling mill, railroad and the employés of the trades in general are a great mass of class-unconscious wage workers, who devour the harangue of the fakirs with an avidity that is really amusing, with an occasional one maimed and ruined for life, thrown out like so much used-up rubbish, to beg and starve, they are only another set of slaves who are as remote from our teachings as are the illiterate cotton mill hands.

Notwithstanding the crude state in which the dawn of the twentieth century finds us, all the conditions that will in time make us ripe for Socialism are here and rapidly developing, from the capitalist department store in its first stages, down to that parsimonious, labor exploiting middle class,—all are organized to fleece the workers, who, content as yet in their misery, consent to be shorn of the product of their labor by voting the same Democratic-Republican-Populists back into power.

This view of the situation here is in no wise pessimistic, the truth shall not be sacrificed for a portrayal in glowing phrases bearing the stamp of mendacity.

TEXAS.

PROGRESS IN THE LONE STAR STATE.

By Frank Leitner, San Antonio.

It is only a few months since the Socialist Labor party made its début in Texas politics. Great was the astonishment of the large dailies in this State when that lusty child of international parentage gave its first sign of life, and they commented on the new arrival according to the class interests they represented. The unvarnished advocate of greater capitalism of the Gold Bug variety, as well as the representative of the "gaping the last breath" middle class still praising the silver cure (of which latter class this vast empire of 265,780 square miles bears its stamp), had their funny or oraculous sayings,—little dreaming that this new aspirant for political supremacy is destined to make their quietus.

Let it be said right here that this was not the first attempt to organize the workers under the banner of the S. L.P., by no means. A Section had been formed several years ago but died prematurely for the following reasons:

First, this pioneer Section consisted exclusively of German comrades, who, in spite of their earnestness and enthusiasm, were unable through lack of English speakers to make connection with or interest the native workers;

Second, our national organization had at that time no settled policy and was wholly at sea in regard to tactics, therefore was unable to set an example to and guide the struggling Sections throughout the land. That memorable National Convention of 1896 brought order in the movement and since then our party has made rapid strides;

Third, the economic conditions of the Texas wage workers and farmers was such in those days as to make them almost unfit for disciples of Socialism. Railroads were built in all directions; plenty of work everywhere; living wages and good prices for farm and ranch products prevailed; land was cheap and open to everybody under the preemption law; credit easily obtainable,—in short, Texas, with its great natural resources, was in the first throes of capitalistic production, accompanied with the usual boom.

But conditions have changed mightily since. Wages have been gradually reduced to the level of the Northern and Eastern States; the idle land was gobbled up by the railroads and large cattle and land companies; the bonanza farm put in its appearance. The small farmer and ranchers are unable to compete with their greater compeitor. The cities are crowded with idle men, willing to work at and for anything, finding themselves displaced by women and children and the LABOR-SAVING MACHINE. The smart business men of larger means are having their work done by firms of the East and North, employing the best and latest improved machinery, thereby either leaving the smaller mechanics at home out in the cold or compelling him to work for nothing and pay his employés (if he has any) starvation wages.

What the earnest efforts of those early comrades could not accomplish, the impoverished condition of the workers did. It set them a-thinking that something was radically wrong in the social mechanism. But instead of saying "pater peccavi" and turn to Socialism, they fell a prey to the various "Reform" movements, chiefly among them the Populist craze, with its healserum of 16 to 1 and the radical lion skin drawn over its reactionary assinine body. Shortly after the last Presidential election, in which Populism was buried too deep to be resusciated, 10 men got together in this city and formed a Section of the S. L. P. which proved a stayer and became the nucleus of the existing State organization.

That Socialism is a fixture in this State, never more to be effaced is proven by the synonimous appearance of a number of "me too" Socialists and so-called Socialistic organizations for whom our party is too "narrow" and "autocratic." Well, we give those fellows a wide berth and rope enough to hang themselves.

The comrades of this State are determined to "organize, agitate and educate" until Texas has become a link of the Socialist chain that will reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian Dominion to the Rio Grande de Bravo and in time will encircle the whole civilized world. That is the greeting Texas sends out to all comrades in the land for the first of May, 1899.

MARYLAND.

THE MOVEMENT PURGING ITSELF CLEAN.

By Henry C. McAnarney, Baltimore.

There are in Maryland three Sections of the Socialist Labor party—Canton, Washington and Baltimore. The State Committee is located at Washington, D. C.; the Section there is progressive and is, by reason of its environment, in position to do a great deal of good in propoganda work. Canton's Section is small, but very active, and is located in a ripe field for the dissemination of Socialist principles. Section Baltimore, after a varied career of misfortune and misplaced confidence, has ridden itself of the riff-raff confusionists who in the past prevented progress, and is now working upon a sound basis. Formerly the Section was organized into but two Branches, these being centralized. Now the form of organization has been changed, and instead of two central Branches, there are three Ward Branches and two central Branches, the membership, under this system, increasing at a rapid rate.

At present a proposition is being discussed whereby a permanent organizer may be placed in Baltimore city; and he shall devote his entire time to the organization of the party in the city. Lack of funds, however, is a serious drawback to the accomplishment of this aim at the present time.

That Baltimore is a ripe field for the organization of the party is beyond dispute, for the condition of the working class is deplorable. Those street car employés who are regularly employed receive $1.75 per day for twelve hours' labor, and they are compelled to deposit $50 to guarantee the "faithful performance" of their duties; and even under these conditions "political influence" is a necessary requisite to obtain a situation. The extra men are subject to the same obligations as the regulars; and these work whenever opportunity offers. Damages to property of the company are charged to the men in charge of the cars causing the damages. The condition of the factory workers, and their name is legion, is similar to that of the street car employés—deposits, fines, long hours of labor, low rates of wages and irregular employment.

In the mining region, in the northern part of the State, there is no Section, and the need of a State organizer is very urgent. The field is there, the material for a great party is at hand, ready to be molded into a compact, class-conscious organization. The only drawback is an alert organizer—AND FUNDS. There was at one time a branch of the United Mine Workers in the mining regions; but it is now either dead or dying. A "workingman" miner is a State Senator; he is also Assistant State Labor Statistician; he is also one of "the industrial props" to the Governor of Maryland; he represents "organized labor" as a Republican in the State Legislature. Thus all the miners are happy (?).

On the eastern shore of Maryland child labor is the mainstay of the middle class farmers and fruit and oyster canners. Children carrying doll babies to the canning factories is a common sight in Cambridge. The alleged "child labor" law enacted by a recent Legislature, prohibiting the employment in factories of children under TWELVE YEARS OF AGE, EXEMPTS THE EASTERN SHORE CANNING FACTORIES from the operation of the law.

Maryland is RIPE. Let there be an Organizer to Reap the Harvest.

GEORGIA.

THE S. L. P. AT WORK.

By S. M. White, Atlanta, Ga.

When chattel slavery was abolished in the South there arose in its stead a system of slavery as bad or worse than chattel slavery. That system is the system of wage slavery that prevails to-day, and not only the blacks, but the whites also, are the slaves.

Under the rule of capitalism, education has been denied the workers, and as a result, illiteracy is so general that thousands of the workers can neither read nor write at all, and the majority of those who are able to write, cannot write intelligently.

In the last State election in Georgia, of 850,000 eligible voters, less than 150,000 voted, a majority of the latter number controlling the election. Thus when a majority of three-sevenths of the voters control the State, the indifference on the part of the four-sevenths clearly shows that dense ignorance prevails among them as to their duties toward government.

The white workers have the full privilege of the ballot, but the blacks, as a general thing, are prevented from voting through a system of white primaries, in which they are not permitted to vote. In the regular election they can vote, but never having had any other than the machine-made white primary ticket to vote for, they have usually refrained from voting.

Thus the workers in Georgia have had no voice in making the laws that govern them. But the rule of capitalism has so forcibly oppressed them that they are beginning to realize their situation, and in Augusta, Ga., recently, 6,000 white cotton will workers revolted, on which occasion they were shown the only way to achieve their emancipation from wage slavery by a Socialist Labor party organizer.

Through the efforts of Section Atlanta of the Socialist Labor party, the wage workers and people in general in Georgia are learning the meaning of Socialism and the Socialist Labor party, and splendid progress is being made. Atlanta is the largest city in Georgia, having a population of about 125,000, and is a good field to work in. The smaller cities of Augusta, Savannah, Macon, and Columbus, have each a population of about 40,000. The agitation is being carried on in all the places named, and before many months the Atlanta Socialists are confident that the requisite three Sections will be well organized, and a State organization effected.

Section Atlanta of the Socialist Labor party now has a permanent home at 30½ South Pryor street, Atlanta, Ga., and is doing its utmost to spread the agitation. Among its members are two active organizers—English and German—who go to adjacent cities and towns and address the people when opportunity allows.

Special effort is now being made to strengthen Section Atlanta, so that organizers may be sent from this city to organize the Southeastern States.

The Populist party, which a few years ago, polled 96,000 votes in Georgia, has gone to pieces, and when the S. L. P. enters the political arena with its first State ticket, many of those who were former Populists will be found voting the S. L. P. ticket straight.

The States of North and South Carolina, Florida and Tennessee, in which little Socialist agitation has been done, will make a task for the Georgia Socialists to perform. Alabama is organized, having several Sections, while Texas is also organized. Georgia, Alabama and Texas are the only extreme Southern States in which the Socialist Labor party is organized, but these three States can, with the proper effort, organize the entire South.

VIRGINIA.

THE PROUD MOTHER OF PRESIDENTS.

By B. H. D. McTier, Manchester.

My intention is to make as clear as it is possible for me to do the condition of affairs in this State of ours, so that our comrades throughout the United States may glean some idea of the magnitude of the work cut out for a few earnest workers in the Cause of Humanity in this old moss-back State of ex-chattel slave owning Bourbons, this Virginia, the proud mother of Presidents, as she is commonly called by the fakirs of all creeds, especially when they sniff in the distance the aroma of the public pie counter, which they hope to enjoy by the votes of the suckers caught by such silly milk and water clap-trap.

During my sojourn of 10 years in this State, I have experienced the best of treatment from a people whose hospitality is without reproach, whose sympathies, time and money are freely given to those in need of them. Proud of their descent from the old feudal Barons of England, proud of their illustrous ancestors—the Washingtons, Jeffersons and Henrys—this pride is one of the obstacles in the way of propaganda work for Socialism. In our State, yea, among the working classes even, (although they may be as poor as the church mouse) the caste sentiment is very strong. They would rather have as their (mis)representer one picked out from among the frayed-edged malodorous aristocracy than one selected from their own class (they are hell on stock, you know); and they are prepared to follow those misleaders (their Daniels and Lees) to a pauper's grave, or, if necessary, farther, rather than one of their own class to certain emancipation from the thralldom of wage slavery.

Thus the worship of false heroes is one of the obstacles which we poor but intrepid Socialists have to overcome in the old Commonwealth of Virginia. Our task would be easier if capitalism was more fully developed here, which it will be soon. Wait till the rough-footed capitalist gets these Virginia aristicratic noses to the emery wheel, and then, as the sparks fly, we will tell them something, and laugh when we hear them confess that "those damned Socialists were right!"

Another great obstacle (and one which is indigenous to all Southern States) is the race question. The feeling on the part of the whites is that of those who view their former chattels placed on political equality with themselves. Which acrimonious feeling was intensified by the Federal Carpetbaggers, who, after the war, used the ignorant colored man's vote to hoist themselves into office. So powerful is that race weapon, and so well used by our political fakirs, that when on various occasions a reform party has flashed forth which threatened to overthrow the powers that be, it was smashed by no other argument than that of the cry of "Nigger; Nigger!", at the sound of which the poor ignorant white slaves fled in terror back to their masters to hug and kiss their chains with more fervent love than ever.

These are the main obstacles, which coupled with the dense economic ignorance of the masses (the result of their blind worship of false leaders), are the lions in the pathway of the Socialist Movement in our State. These are the obstacles we have to overcome, and will—if truth is truth, and courage are essential.

Thus having briefly outlined the work before us here, I will state that our munitions of war consist altogether of a few rough-handed sons of toil, occupying the widely separated forts of Roanoke, Newport News and Richmond. Therefore, knowing these facts, I hope our comrades, who occupy more favorable positions in the fight, will sympathise with us if we are only able to do little more than hold the fort for sometime yet.

GREAT LAKES' REGION.

MICHIGAN.

HISTORY OF CLASS-CONSCIOUS FORMATION.

By Meiko Meyer, Detroit.

I shall here give a short history of the Socialist Labor party and the political labor class movement of Michigan.

The first Socialist Section in Michigan was organized in Detroit as early as 1874. In 1877, the Section entered the political arena as S. L. P., but the Socialists, who composed Section Detroit at that time, did not know anything about class interests, and their party was, therefore, swept away by individualistic interests.

In 1886, an attempt was made by the economic labor organization of Detroit to start an "Independent Labor Party." Socialists participated; but this attempt, too, failed because the movers were ignorant of class interests.

In 1887, Section Detroit "took a stand against the Prohibition movement" and among others, Chas. Erb and Wm. Krieghoff, two of the old leaders of the S. L. P. of Detroit, went on a stump tour through the State to speak against "Prohibition" or rather "local option." Henry Kummerfeldt, another old leader of the party, became President of an anti-Prohibition society called "Verein zur Wahrung der persönlichen Freiheit" (Society for the Safeguarding of Personal Freedom). That these men could be carried off by a simple beer and whiskey question, shows that the name "Socialist" was very loosely applied, when applied to these men. That no progress was made with that kind of Socialist agitation can not be wondered at.

In 1891 and 1892, the Nationalists and the Socialists jointly nominated a ticket under the name of "Citizens' Independent Party." Here, too, class lines were ignored.

It was not until the occurrences of 1893 and 1894, that the S. L. P. found bed-rock in Detroit.

When, in the early part of 1894, city employés—the laborers working for the Water Board of Detroit—went on strike, because the Water Board attempted to establish a piece-work system, and when these laborers found that they could not make their salt at the rate the Water Board wanted to pay, then they went on strike to retain their old pay and to protest against the new piece-work system. The Board immediately called upon C. P. Collins to protect the men who would be willing to scab it. The scene of action was just beyond the city limits at "Conners Creek," and the city Police had no jurisdiction there.

When Sheriff Collins arrived, he did not wait until he was forced to protect scabs; but when the crowd started to jest him, he ordered his deputies to "fire," and he himself is said to have emptied the rounds of two revolvers, one in each hand, into the crowd. The result was that several died of the wounds received, while many others were seriously hurt.

It was after this occurrence that something like class-consciousness began to creep upon certain individuals in the Labor Movement of Detroit. The hard times of '93 helped along to ripen the idea that Labor must enter the political arena, independent of the old parties. In 1894, in the fall, the Trades Council took the initiative and called a convention of all supposed labor organizations of Detroit. The convention was held in Germania Hall and the name "Independent Labor Party" was adopted. But before the convention was over, a dispute arose about "endorsements" between the fakirs and the honest elements of the convention. The majority favored "endorsements"—and Sheriff C. P. Collins, too, was endorsed. This broke the camel's back: the minority bolted. The Populists too accepted the endorsement scheme; and, with this attempt, the different independent labor party fakirs dug the graves for their parties, but temporarily helped themselves into political positions.

Another convention was then called by the Central Labor Union in Finnette's Hall, and all those societies that had bolted were invited to attend. Among the societies that sent delegates were the S. L. P., the C. L. U., the Cigarmakers' Union, the East Side Turn Verein, etc., and the name "Strictly Independent Workingmen's Party" was adopted. The platform, as adopted, was a nonsensical mixture of single tax and Socialism; class interests were entirely ignored, but in its address to the voters of Wayne County—the address preceded the platform—"the working people" were called upon "to sever all affiliation with these (the old parties) and create a movement of their own." S. Goldwater, one of the cigarmakers' delegates, dropped out again, started a Ward movement which he called the "Citizens' Independent Party," took the endorsement of the Democrats and was elected Alderman.

After the S. I. W. P.'s convention, Ward Clubs were organized after the manner of the previous opportunistic and utopian attempts for political action. The East Side Turners especially were active in organizing Ward Clubs, and the 9th, the 11th and the 13th Ward Clubs were organized in their Hall.

Immediately after the election, the 11th and the 13th Ward Clubs adopted the name Socialist Labor Party, and instructed their delegates to the City Committee to work towards the change of the name of the "Strictly Independent Workingmen's Party" into "Socialist Labor Party." The delegates of the 9th, the 11th and the 13th Ward Clubs, together with one or two delegates from Section Detroit, S. L. P., or the East Side Turners, were the only ones left in the S. I. W. P.'s City Committee; to change the name was, therefore, no hard task.

A few of the active Ward Club members had been members of the S. L. P. during the S. I. W. P.'s campaign, the others joined the Section shortly afterwards. In this way the class-conscious, active element found its way into the Section and succeeded in silencing the old pessimistic and utopian ideas of the older members.

At first the vote cast for the party was very small, but in a few years the vote of Michigan increased enormously, Sections had been organized in several cities, and the S. L. P. became the terror of all capitalist politicians, political schemers and labor fakirs. The failure of the 16 to 1 middle class movement unloaded upon the S. L. P. some of these utopians and schemers because side-tracking movements had become impossible on account of the aggressive, uncompromising attitude of the ruling element of Section Detroit toward such side-shows. The active, aggressive element ruled, at least, in the agitation of Section Detroit.

But by the combination of these aforesaid two reactionary elements—they instituted a wholesale remission of dues, by the aid of which unconstitutional members were enabled to vote in the Section—thus the reactionary inclined elements were enabled to temporarily regain control of the agitation of Section Detroit. But, owing to the stupid, ignorant, aye, one might say crooked, stand taken by them in public questions as well as in party and Section affairs, they broke their own power within the short span of one year.

The S. L. P. stands now before a period where all rubbish will be cast off, and where it will grow faster and sounder on account of its purity and its uncomporimsing stand against all the foes of the wage working class.

NOTICE.

Several very good articles, sent in for this MAY DAY issue, came in too late for insertion. Being of permanent value, they will be published in later issues.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eigteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

Hunger and Cold!

Sisters two, all praise to you,
With your faces pinched and blue;
To the poor man you've been true
From of old:
You can speak the keenest word,
You are sure of being heard
From the point you're never stirred
Hunger and Cold!

Let sleek statesmen temporize;
Palsied are their shifts and lies
When they meet your bloodshot eyes,
Grim and bold;
Policy you set at naught,
In their traps you'll not be caught,
You're too honest to be bought
Hunger and Cold!

Bolt and bar the palace door;
While the mass of men are poor,
Naked truth grows more and more
Uncontrolled;
You had never yet, I guess,
Any praise for bashfulness,
You can visit sans court-dress
Hunger and Cold!

While the music fell and rose,
And the dance reeled to its close,
Where her round of costly woes
Fashion strolled,
I beheld with shuddering fear
Wolves' eyes through the window peer;
Little dream they you are near,
Hunger and Cold!

When the toiler's heart you clutch
Conscience is not valued much,
He recks not a bloody smutch
On his gold:
Everything to you defers,
You are potent reasoners,
At your whisper Treason stirs,
Hunger and Cold!

Rude comparisons you draw,
Words refuse to sate your maw,
Your gaunt limbs the cob-web law
Cannot hold:
You're not clogged with foolish pride,
But can seize a right denied:
Somehow God is on your side,
Hunger and Cold!

You respect no hoary wrong
More for having triumphed long;
Its past victims, haggard throng
From the mould
You unbury: swords and spears
Weaker are than poor men's tears,
Weaker than your silent years
Hunger and Cold!

Let them guard both hall and bower;
Through the window you will glower,
Patient till your reckoning hour
Shall be tolled:
Cheek are pale, but hands are red,
Guiltless blood may chance be shed,
But ye must and will be fed,
Hunger and Cold!

God has plans man must not spoil
Some were made to starve and toil,
Some to share the wine and oil
We are told;
Devil's theories are these,
Stifling hope and love and peace
Framed your hideous lusts to please
Hunger and Cold!

Scatter ashes on thy head,
Tears of burning sorrow shed,
Earth! and be by Pity led
To Love's fold;
Ere they block the very door
With lean corpses of the poor,
And will hush for naught but gore
Hunger and Cold!

LOWELL.

THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK CITY.

Statement by the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, to the Party Membership and to Voters of the S. L. P. Ticket Throughout the Land.

Comrades:—As the Socialist Movement develops, constantly gaining in strength, momentum and aggressiveness, forging ahead over obstacles previously deemed insurmountable, it naturally happens from time to time that some of those who formerly were in the front rank, unable to keep pace with the advancing column, fall behind, and, after vainly calling for a halt, are left in the rear if not lost to the cause.

At such times it unavoidably happens also that bitter personalities are indulged in; because the great fact is not yet generally comprehended—or is too frequently lost sight of by those even who comprehend it—that social movements, or diverging tendencies within those movements, are not the product of their so-called leaders, but that the inverse proposition is true. The existence of differences is therefore, as a rule, wrongly imputed to those who, selected as agents or mouthpieces of the movements or tendencies to which they respectively contribute their individual efforts, sympathetically reflect in their acts or utterances, with such powers as they possess, the collective sentiment of their respective constituents. Manifestly, a mere change of mouthpieces would not change opinions, while any sort of compromise with a view to "harmony" could only result in emphasizing the divergences by closer friction; so that in the end the unavoidable crises would come, intensified by additional elements of discord.

It is through such a crisis that the Socialist Movement in now passing in New York City; a crisis brought about, not suddenly by the deeds or words of impetuous men, but gradually by the slow and logical working of forces, which, originally starting from the same point and for a time apparently moving in the same direction, began years ago to display opposite tendencies. But it is precisely from such crises that the Socialist Movement has always and in every country emerged stronger, until at last it became irresistible wherever it had succeeded in overcoming the internal resistances to its advance along the lines plainly marked out by the Class Struggle.

On occasions of this gravity, however, it is highly important that every fact of unquestionable authenticity and value, tending to enlighten those upon whom the movement must depend for its integrity and progress, be submitted to their most dispassionate consideration. With this end in view, and hoping that no previous association, no present environment, no influence other than the sense of right, and no irrelevant or secondary matter of dispute, may interfere with the exercise of judgment and consistent action, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party has therefore deemed it its duty to the membership of the said Party—and to those who, though not yet members, are in full sympathy with its great aim and support it at the ballot box, but might be misled by inaccurate information—to publicly issue the following statement.

This step, in fact, has been rendered imperative by the hostile position which certain members and non-members, availing themselves of their editorial command over a paper heretofore considered a Socialist organ, and claiming a right of criticism to the extent of public attack, have publicly taken upon questions, not only of so-called "tactics" but of fundamental principle, pertaining to the party, repeatedly settled by its National and State conventions, settled again, through the referendum, by an overwhelming majority of its membership, yet always open to free discussion within its organization.

Comrades:—As you all know, the seed of modern Socialism was first planted in American soil by German militants a generation ago. Their self-imposed task was onerous and thankless; their labors remained for a long time unproductive. There was here in those days no "labor movement" in the true meaning which a class-conscious proletarian attaches to this expression. The undeveloped country was still then affording numberless opportunities to middle class aspirations. Individualism of the meanest sort was rampant; solidarity an unknown word. The only purpose of such labor organization as there could be under the prevailing conditions was to maintain wages at a point where, by "saving," the worker could at last become a small "boss." He resigned himself to be skinned for a time in order to become a skinner of his fellows. The "smartest" man—that is, the most cunning and unscrupulous in the choice of means to attain this end—was the natural leader of a labor body composed of such elements. And as politics presented occasions of pecuniary and social advancement to men of glib tongue and absent conscience, every labor leader was a politician.

The six years' crisis that began in 1873, by reducing the American working class to a condition of helplessness sufficiently suggestive of its inexorable fate under capitalism, gave the German comrades, chiefly in New York City, their first opportunity of agitation among people of other nationalities. They improved it to the utmost of their limited means. But economic education is a plant of slow growth, especially in its primary stages and in a soil long productive of the rankest weeds. Moreover, Socialist agitation, ever so well systematized in Germany, was still here in its experimental stage. At any rate they spread Socialist doctrine, made some converts, and in order to give a practical illustration of their methods and purposes, they constituted a Socialist Party and boldly undertook, with their scant resources, to issue a Socialist daily paper in the German language, namely, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung."

In this last enterprise they had to comply with the capitalistic law of the State of New York by forming an association that would nominally own the paper, and which they named "The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association." But it was understood that the paper was actually, then and forever, the property of the Party, subject in all its utterances to the will of the Party, and amenable at all times to that truly social-democratic, self-imposed and self-enforced discipline of the Party, of which Germany, under the anti-Socialist Bismarckian "laws of exception," was at that very moment giving the world a magnificent example.

Of course, within the Party, but only within it, the editors, like any other members thereof, not only could ventilate with the utmost freedom any personal views which they might entertain, but were expected to do so; and it was not deemed possible that the day might come when a non-member of the Party could be called upon to occupy the chair of editor-in-chief, or even the position of sub-editor, and, as such, oppose in the columns of the paper the tactics of the Party, criticize its programme, or do aught that could in any way give aid and comfort to its enemies—all in the name of freedom, as understood by the Anarchists.

The "Volkszeitung" went on. Armed with this precious weapon, the New York Socialists of 1878 placed a municipal ticket in the field and cast about 1,700 votes for their Mayoralty candidate. Most of the trade unions that had survived the crisis were mere skeletons. The only ones that showed any signs of life were German organizations, thoroughly imbued with the Socialist spirit. With the revival of capitalistic business in 1879 and 1880, trade unionism emerged from its torpid state. The most active, the most earnest agents of this awakening were German Socialists, seconded by a few men of other nationalities, who professed conversion to Socialism or at least sympathy approximating conversion. Their great cry, "Organize! Organize! Organize!" was taken up everywhere. They did not at first conceive that an organization for economic war against individual capitalists could not of itself so emphasize the class struggle and so plainly suggest the right mode of action, as to logically, necessarily bring about its own evolution into an organization for political war against capitalism. Lulled by fakirs who fattened on their dues and profited by their misspent activity in the building up of pure and simple trade unions, they patiently waited to see the "inevitable" result. Seeing nothing, they finally began to "bore from the inside." They bored so well that in 1880 they found themselves outside of Socialism and in the mire of Greenbackism. Retracing their steps, they bored again from within and in 1886 fell out into the still deeper mire of Single Taxism. Disgusted, as they might well have been, they withdrew their economic organizations from the Central Labor Union, formed a central body of their own and quietly attended to their economic fights. At about that time (1888) the Party was so low that, having taken the political field in New York City for the mere purpose of testing its strength, only about 2,000 votes were cast for its candidates—or hardly more than ten years before, despite the enormous growth of the wage-working German population in the American metropolis and the immense progress of Socialism in Germany. In no other part of the country could the Party give even so weak a sign of remaining life.

Such was the outcome of the "tactics" which the "Volkszeitung" would have us revive.

These tactics, so-called, were abandoned in 1890, and others substituted, of which the present ones are the direct, logical evolution. The advance of the Party since then is a matter of such well known record that we may dispense with any comments upon it.

The fact, however, should right here be stated, that at no time and under no circumstances did the "Volkszeitung" aid the Party in carrying out its changed policy; but that many times and in many ways—by editorial silence or innuendoes, by reportorial incompleteness or blue pencil work, and at last by outspoken opposition—it endeavored to discredit that policy which it was in duty bound by the laws of ethics, by its professions of loyalty, and by its constitution, to sustain and promote.

As we have already observed, diverging tendencies are not the creation of their respective mouthpieces. The contrary is true, and it were idle to blame the mouthpieces for their own existence. But the actual fact in the case of the "Volkszeitung" is that it attempted the impossible task of not being the mouthpiece of any particular tendency in the labor movement, and that, when the divergences became too great to permit of such "impartiality," it was driven by the legitimate dissatisfaction of the S. L. P. with its tepid loyalty, into an attitude of hot disloyalty.

The admission has indeed repeatedly been made, by members of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association and by members of its Board of Directors, that if the "Volkszeitung" were to sustain the uncompromising policy of the S. L. P., its existence might be placed in jeopardy by a loss of the support which it now received from various labor organizations! This is, we dare say, a confession of impotence not less painful than suggestive, and for which there would be no occasion if, applauding as it should have done the abandonment of cowardly tactics, and welcoming as it should have done the adoption of an energetic policy,—of the only policy consistent with the teachings of Revolutionary Socialism—the "Volkszeitung" had cast away such support as it could get from Pure-and-Simplers and their Anarchist associates, revived the drooping spirits of German comrades exhausted by fruitless attempts to travel an impracticable road, and faced the enemy at every point. Nor is it too late for such manly action. With 82,000 Socialist votes behind us and daily reports before us of steady progress, the ground is beyond question incalculably safer than it was eight years ago. Moreover, we do not believe that a majority of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association are cowards or traitors. On the contrary, we do believe that all of its members, with the exception of a few Anarchists and some other pronounced Party enemies, are loyal to the Party; that they are willing to sustain it at any cost and at all hazards; but that the minds of a number of them have been poisoned in an atmosphere long impregnated with timorousness and disloyalty, and now filled with the subtle venom of personal animosity. It is, therefore, with a friendly feeling that we publicly call upon the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association to disown the hostility of its present editors, and to prove its loyalty by enforcing its constitution.

Of the claim which those editors set forth, in defiance of the said constitution, that they commit no act of disloyalty in publicly opposing the "tactics" of the Party, we should not specially speak here if what they term "tactics" was not so closely related to the fundamental principle of the class struggle as to involve the Socialist Movement in its entirety. That the attitude of the Party concerning the nature of trade unionism is erroneously considered by some German comrades in this country as a mere matter of tactics, happens from the fact that in Germany, as is France and Belgium, trade unionism is overwhelmingly Socialistic. There was no occasion in those countries for asserting in the Socialist declaration of principles the necessity of a condition which was in existence and the existence of which was taken as a matter of course. But the occasion arose in the International Congresses, as soon as the Socialist Parties and the Socialist trade unions of those countries found themselves confronted by the pure and simple anti-Socialist trade unions of Great Britain and by the Anarchists of everywhere. Hence the emphatic declaration at London, in 1896, that no labor organization shall be entitled to representation in International Congresses unless it recognizes the necessity of political action upon class lines: that is, upon the Socialist lines of battle. That settles this issue.

Another matter to which we must here call attention is the rash act of the said editors in attempting to dispute the position of the S. L. P. on the subject of taxation and hiring for that purpose a voluble logomachist who never knew on what side of the fence he could most safely stand upon any question.

The disloyalty here is most flagrant. After years of silent acquiescence, during which the editors of the "Volkszeitung" not only had every opportunity of making themselves heard in the councils of the Party, but were in duty bound to express their dissent in those councils if they actually entertained contrary views, they now suddenly—without provocation, without warning, and in the same spirit already displayed in their attacks upon the Party's trade union principle—opened in the columns of the paper a campaign of confusion against the simple, clear and radically true formula which the S. L. P. is victoriously opposing to the most insidious and most bamboozling declarations of middle class parties.

There is no room in this address for a discourse on taxation: and we must for the present confine ourselves to an emphatic reassertion of the fundamental principle enunciated in the New York State platform of 1895 and in the Municipal Programme of the S. L. P.; which, together with the not less fundamental position of the Party on trade unionism, has been loyally maintained by the Party's English organ, THE PEOPLE, and its German organ, "Vorwaerts." (See Appendix.)

But whether the editors of the "Volkszeitung" be permitted to continue in their perverse course, or whether the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, aroused by their conduct, takes against them such action as the case obviously requires, the duty now devolves upon this National Executive Committee of presenting a complete and dispassionate argument, setting forth all the grounds upon which the S. L. P. rests its general declaration. With this end in view a leaflet is being prepared on the subject of taxation.

Lastly, attention is called to the below APPENDIX, in substantiation of the charges herein made and in further evidence of the "Volkszeitung's" hostility to the Party's interests, as displayed by the editors of the said "Volkszeitung" in their treatment of the "Haverhill Armory Social Democracy."

In conclusion, Comrades, having laid before you a chain of facts so specific, so indisputable, and so closely related in nature and sequence as to leave no room for misinterpretation or sophistry, we may fully trust for the rest in your clear Socialist perception and uncompromising Socialist spirit.

ALVAN S. BROWN,
PATRICK MURPHY,
JOHN J. KINNEALLY,
C. H. MATCHETT,
LUCIEN SANIAL,
ARTHUR KEEP.

Dissenting: HENRY STAHL.

(Countersigned and in favor):
HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary.

APPENDIX.

[NOTE.—For the perfect understanding of the falsifications, suppressions and other wrongs purposely committed by the "Volkszeitung," as shown in the following quotations, it is necessary to know and to bear in mind that the "Vorwaerts," official German organ of the S. L. P., is also the weekly edition of the "New Yorker Volkszeitung." The editors of the latter cannot adulterate the weekly "Vorwaerts," but they boldly, unscrupulously, adulterate its articles when taking them over into the columns of the daily "Volkszeitung."]

I.

PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO PARTY TACTICS ON THE SUBJECT OF TRADE UNIONISM.

1. "Vorwaerts," Feb. 19, 1898, has article on New Bedford strike of that month, showing how the strike of 1894 had not fructified the Labor Movement of that city, despite Socialist speakers; the efforts of these redounded, as formerly, only in favor of the Fakirs; the S. L. P. vote remained small, and subsequently even went down (154); in Feb., 1898, however, the Socialists adopted new tactics; their agitation took the practical form of organizing the strikers into the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; owing to this circumstance the expectation was justified that Socialist agitation would not then prove barren, it would withdraw the workers from the fakirs' influence.—THIS ARTICLE WAS SUPPRESSED BY THE "VOLKSZEITUNG."

2. "Vorwaerts," Feb. 26, 1898, has article on same subject and same lines, and sums up saying: Whether this (Socialist) propaganda among the strikers will prove of lasting effect depends upon whether these strikers are brought, also in their economic efforts, into permanent contact with the Socialist Labor party "by joining the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance."—This article WAS MUTILATED BY THE "VOLKSZEITUNG": the above passage, given in quotation marks, WAS STRICKEN OUT, and the whole article was thereby deprived of its only point, and given the tone of the old time Party's tactics and principles that had been rejected by the National Convention of 1896.

(N. B.—The forecast in the "Vorwaerts" that the new trade union principles and tactics of the Party justified the expectation of tangible results was speedily verified. At the by election for Congress in New Bedford, June, 1898, the Party's vote rose from 154 to over 700, and, at the following November elections of the same year, the vote rose several hundreds more.)

3. On Dec. 14 and 19, 1898, commenting upon the Kansas City convention of the pure and simple A. F. of L., the "Volkszeitung" made successively the two following more open attacks upon the Party's trade union policy:

"The comfort of these two elements was formerly not quite so well provided for at the time when there were more Socialist pikes in that pond; at the time, namely, when a part of these had not yet chosen to lead, outside of the American Federation, a separate existence of doubtful success, instead of, as formerly, tirelessly, unflaggingly, step by step, boring their way forward from within. At that time, the corruptionists of the Labor Movement always felt quite uncomfortable at the opening of every annual convention, because they were in the dark as to the strength in which the Socialists might turn up, as to the weapons of attack these might be equipped with, and as to how far these would succeed in making breaches in the ranks of the shaky. This sense of uneasiness is now wholly vanished."—(Dec. 14.)

"Does it not now dawn upon certain of our own comrades that their own favorite, frequently untactful form of attack against the non-Socialist trades union movement, and, in connection therewith, their own separate trades union tactics, has placed in the hands of the corrupt foes of Socialism in the convention at Kansas City the very weapons that could not fail to effect upon the indifferent element present, and that thereby helped to retard the flow of the Socialist current?"—(Dec. 19.)

4. "Vorwaerts," March 18, 1899, describes the effectiveness of the S. T. & L. A. in the Allegheny strike, and the needfulness of the Party's tactics on trade unionism, and clinches the point with illustrations.—THIS ARTICLE WAS MUTILATED IN THE "VOLKSZEITUNG" OF THE SAME DATE; ALL ALLUSION TO THE S. T. & L. A. IS STRICKEN OUT; AND WHAT IS LEFT THUS CONVEYS THE IDEA THAT THE SAME OLD TACTICS HAD BEEN ADOPTED AND HAD PROVED SUCCESSFUL.

5. "Volkszeitung," March 25, 1899, has an original article in which the Allegheny strike and its excellent results for the Cause of Labor are referred to as though the tactics to which these were due were the old tactics recommended by the "Volkszeitung." He who is not posted, would miss the point that only through the S. T. & L. A. was such success had, and would be misled into confidence in the old and rejected tactics.

6. Comrade Forker, writing from Rhode Island on the elections just held there on April 5, 1899, sent to the "Volkszeitung" a communication in the course of which the important rôle of the S. T. & L. A. in that successful election was described.—THE "VOLKSZEITUNG" MUTILATED FORKER'S COMMUNICATION, LEAVING OUT ALL MENTION OF THE S. T. & L. A., AND WHEN THE "VORWAERTS" ASKED FOR THE COMMUNICATION TO GIVE THE GERMAN COMRADES OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK THE BENEFIT THEREOF, THE FORKER COMMUNICATION COULD NOT BE FOUND.

7. On April 3, the "Volkszeitung" reported about the Whitestone Association of Marble Polishers, which, in order to prevent the organization of its trade and to keep a monopoly of the trade to itself, placed the admission fee at $50, then raised it to $100, and then, failing in its purpose to keep away applicants, absolutely refused to take in new members. Commenting upon this, the "Volkszeitung" of April 4 and 5 declared that, EVEN SO, THE ORGANIZATION OF A RIVAL UNION IS NOT ALLOWABLE, and would be "a blow in the face of solidarity," a blow that "never and nevermore could promote the advance of the working class whether on the economic or the political field."

8. The "Vorwaerts," April 15, 1899, had an article exposing the fraudulent claims now being made of increases in wages in the cotton industries, of New England especially; and it drew black upon black the dismal, helpless future of the textile workers—were it not, the "Vorwaerts" closes saying, for the ray of light and hope shed across their path by the election returns from Rhode Island where, thanks to the organizations of the S. T. & L. A. among the textile workers, such an intelligent and vigorous spirit animates the men that their struggles will be successful and beneficent for the textile proletariat.—THIS WHOLE CLOSING PARAGRAPH IS SUPPRESSED BY THE "VOLKSZEITUNG" of the same date, thus leaving the article a dead stone.

II.

VIOLATIONS OF THE PARTY'S PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS ON TAXATION.

1. The "Volkszeitung," March 7, has an article (evidently directed against THE PEOPLE'S "Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan" of two days previous), in which, contrary to scientific economics, contrary to statistical facts, and contrary to the Party's National declaration (Municipal Programme issued by N. E. C.), and the declaration of the Party of the State of New York, the "Volkszeitung" maintains that the taxes are paid by the working class out of its wages; and in which, seeking to show the importance of the discovery, it argues with false figures that the 55th Congress has imposed a burden of taxation of $100 A YEAR ON EVERY FAMILY; and it has during the last four weeks continuously pursued the same lines, combating THE PEOPLE, to the injury of a clear understanding of the principle involved, and to the injury of the party, whose otherwise supporters can not fail thereby to be rendered accessible to bourgeois "Tax Reform" political planks in their endeavor to quickly throw off so heavy a burden of taxation as $100 A YEAR which they are falsely made believe by the "Volkszeitung" that they are loaded with.

2. "Vorwaerts," April 22, has an article on "Demagogic Taxation Politics," in which it proves with statistical figures that "the question of taxation can, under no circumstances, be of importance to the workingmen," that "their condition is not affected by changes in capitalist taxation policies," that "the theory upon which the tax-politicians seek to talk the workingmen into feeling interested in the question of taxation is the claim that taxes are a pressing burden on the workingmen, and that the removal or curtailment of taxes would bring an improvement of their condition," and that the "theory is absurd."—This article WAS SUPPRESSED by the "Volkszeitung," thus suppressing the Party's voice and rendering the Party tongue-tied toward the German element in this city.

III.

HOSTILITY TO THE PARTY'S INTERESTS, BY GIVING AID AND COMFORT TO THE MANIFESTLY IGNORANT AND CORRUPT "HAVERHILL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY."

1. The "Volkszeitung" has systematically suppressed all information appearing in THE PEOPLE or the "Vorwaerts" that is damaging to the "Haverhill Social Democracy":

(a) It suppressed the Corcoran letter and all the other numerous letters that were published from Massachusetts comrades showing Mayor Chase to be a crook and an ignoramus; and showing, from bourgeois papers-clippings themselves, how Chase and Carey were denying the class struggle, were fishing for bourgeois support, and were seeking to establish harmony between Capitalists and Workingmen, were supporting pure and simple politics in Marlboro; and were considered "good Socialists" by that bourgeois press;

(b) It suppressed the letter that was reproduced from the Haverhill "Gazette," signed by a Democratic candidate, showing that political deals had been made between the "Social Democrats" and the "Regular Democrats," and that Carey was cognizant thereof;—a statement that, although appearing in print in his own city, Carey did not dare deny;

(c) It suppressed the information that the first official act of Mayor Chase was the appointment of a notorious Democratic politician AS HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY, thus beginning to "redeem pledges"; and

(d) It suppressed the more recent information that the "Haverhill Social Democracy" had raised funds from the "Liquor Interests."

2. The "Volkszeitung," Dec. 31, 1898, while declaring with general phrases that the conduct of Carey, in supporting and voting for a $15,000 appropriation for building a new Armory, is not a class-conscious act, dodges the real point at issue, the evident corruption of the act, and the still more evident dishonesty of the defence. The "Volkszeitung" of that date gives editorially Carey's defence in full, including the idiotic claim about his "liability to a severe fine," had he acted otherwise, and then it says:

"So much for the plea of his supporters, UPON THE CORRECTNESS OF THE DETAILS OF WHICH WE ARE NOT ABLE TO JUDGE." ! ! !

Not able to judge upon the details of a plea, that bears on its face the stamp of fraud, and that could hardly impose even upon a child of average sense!

3. The "Volkszeitung," Jan. 24, 1899, puts in a good word for the corruptionist and bourgeois Mayor Chase by misstating an important fact. In the article of that date entitled, "Two Mayors," it compares Mayor Jones of Toledo with Mayor Chase of Haverhill. It has much general talk against both on their "humanity," etc., language, but finally says of Chase:

"What, indeed, distinguishes him favorably from the other (J[illegible]es) is that he evidently addresses him[illegible] knowingly to the right element, i. e., t[illegible] he workingmen who are organised for the [illegible]nomic battle against capital."

The facts are just [illegible] reverse, and were illustrated in this very city at the very time that article was written. Jones was just then in New York addressing "organized workingmen," the Letter Carriers, while the information, all along suppressed by the "Volkszeitung," showed right along that Chase was pre-eminently addressing himself to bourgeois while Jones was the chap who was seeking workingmen's audiences. Indeed, Jones, who imagines he has the bourgeois with him, is straining for workingmen supporters, while Chase, who imagines he has captured the workers, is conspicuously straining for a bourgeois following.

ATLANTIC SLOPE.

(Continued from page 2.)

when they organized on more rational lines and conducted the campaign of that year with the name as well as the platform of the S. L. P.

In the campaign of 1894, the candidate for Governor was Charles G. Baylor, and in the subsequent year George E. Boomer headed the ticket. Both of these candidates typified the failure of the comrades as yet to grasp the logical dictates of scientific Socialism and to master its tactics, for Baylor was a political freak and Boomer a political crook, the former leaving the party to embrace Anarchism, and the latter deserting it to sponge on Populism.

It was not until 1896, that the movement in this State was established on the rock-bed of the Class Struggle and scaled off the dubious following attracted to it by Boomerish wiles. Since then Anarchists, traitors and hybrids of the Debs variety have cut no capers with the party's sanction. Campaigns have come and gone, and the Party,—flanked by its twin-sister, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance—, has met each one with increasing numbers, with higher hopes, with more united front, with its militant elements anchored hard and fast to the principle of the class truggle and the tactics it proclaims, and quite naturally with ever ascending success. In the future as in the brief past the Rhode Island column of the S. L. P. can be relied on to shun mistakes, to squelch traitors and mongrels, to join its wage slaves into one solid, fighting, fearless, class-conscious mass with wills set on transforming Little Rhody from a hotbed of capitalism into a pillar of the Socialist Commonwealth.

* * *

The attention of comrades in Providence and vicinity is called to the May Day Celebration by the Rhode Island District Council of Textile Workers (S. T. & L. A.) and the Socialist Labor party in Textile Hall, Olneyville, on Monday, May 1, at 8 p. m. Comrade Keinard, of New York, will deliver an address, and dancing will close the evening's entertainment. Schultz' Orchestra will provide the music.

This will be the initial observance of Labor's International Holiday in Rhode Island and comrades are urged to assist in making it a complete success.

The State Committee.
T. CURRAN, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

THE BROADNESS OF "NARROWNESS," THE TOLERANCE OF "INTOLERANCE."

By C. S. Mercer, Bridgeport.

The comrades of Connecticut have persisted for years in maintaining a strict, clear-cut, class-conscious organization. Despite the apathy of the workers, and criticism and abuse from all sides, they knew no "broadness" or "toleration" for any fake, no matter what guise it assumed.

Often a young enthusiast would cry out against the firmness of our attitude and the unpitying lash we would use on everything "going our way." But slowly we would bring him out of the clouds of sentiment and show him the necessity of planting his feet on the bed-rock of his material CLASS INTERESTS. It was certainly at times disheartening to see many refuse to join us because we persisted in the tactics which our class interests dictated, but we saw that every excuse made was a sermon urging us on our course. Reforms and fakes have come and gone, from the Social Democrats up, and at last the workers are dimly perceiving that this intolerant party will tolerate ONLY that which is based clearly on the interests of the working class, and is only broad enough for honest workers who stand upon these interests. Hence throughout this State, as of course it will be in every other, the S. L. P. is being respected and championed by hundreds of workers who a few years ago denounced it as intolerant, narrow and bigoted.

But suppose the S. L. P. had tolerated every scheme that pretended to be going our way, where would it be to-day? Just where they are; wrecked on the shoals of class-unconsciousness. And the workers abused, humbugged, deceived, betrayed would be plunged in a hopeless state of despondency, out of which it would be almost impossible to bring them.

The crucial test of class-consciousness is not in the mere knowledge of Socialist doctrine but how one ACTS upon that knowledge.

In trades unions we find the fakir element so scared of the ominous signs of growing class-consciousness that they are adopting the gag law. Only in those unions where the political question is discussed is there any life among the rank and file, and this has been brought about by pressure from members of the S. L. P. In Bridgeport when a reduction was recently made in the Warner Bros. Corset factory many at once remarked that it was easy to see how the pious Dr. Warner could afford a new yacht, build a $40,000 monument and make generous donations to the Y. M. C. A. The connection between a REDUCTION and a DONATION is becoming clear to them, and the first gleams of class consciousness are illuminating their minds.

We look forward to the coming years with boyant hope, recognizing that every social factor is drawing the class line more clearly; that the alarm and consternation into which the middle class has been thrown by recent developments along the line of trustification can only bring the Social Question more to the front.

The splendid victory of our comrades in New Britain, where four Councilmen and one Alderman were recently elected, the magnificent gain of New Haven, where they jumped from 600 to 1,000 votes goes to prove the correctness of the tactics of the S. L. P. and the growth of class consciousness. Let us press on to victory.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

THE CAPITALIST'S FACTORY IDEA CARRIED OVER INTO GOVERNMENT.

By Julian Pierce, Washington.

The subject "Socialism in the District of Columbia" is a difficult subject to handle because of the fact that there isn't enough of it to handle. Washington is the heart of this capitalist Government of ours. Three-fourths of the population is dependent directly or indirectly on the Government for a living; and to him who knows anything of the methods of capitalism this fact speaks volumes.

In the factory, the injunction of the capitalist is: "Do your work and shut your mouth; or, if you do open it, say something in favor of the capitalist." The United States Government is run by a group of capitalists. They bring to the Government the factory idea, and their injunction to their tens of thousands of employés is: "Do your work and shut your mouth; or, if you do open it, say something in favor of your employer."

The employés of the Government are classified as laborers, mechanics, and clerks; and with rare exceptions every one of them, from a janitor to the chief of a department, has to have political influence to get his job, and, further, he has to have political influence to keep his job. Capitalist "civil service" does not change this principle at all, and to-day political influence is just as essential to appointment as it was fifteen years ago. As a result, every "labor leader" here is looking for a political job. There is but one way to get it—stand in with the politicians. And Washington is filled with "labor leaders" who beat the drum for the Democrats, and "labor leaders" who beat the drum for the Republicans. In fact, this political job business dominates so thoroughly every thing else that about the only way a man can get to be a "labor leader" is to become a lickspittle for one of the two "great" political parties. And many of the trade unions here are nothing but political clubs. Under a Democratic administration they are political clubs for getting political jobs for Democratic "labor leaders"; and under Republican administrations they are political clubs for getting political jobs for Republican "labor leaders."

The quintessence of this principle is seen in the attitude of the Central Labor Union, which is dominated by Samuel Gompers, and which spends a large portion of its weekly meetings in passing resolutions "endorsing as a friend of labor" practically every politician that has appointed some fakir to a job.

Furthermore, the citizens of Washington are not allowed to vote. Congress passes the general laws, and the executive function is carried out by three commissioners appointed by the President; and this system of Government can only be changed by the consent of Congress.

For these reasons, and others equally cogent, the soil is not very well adapted for the truths of Socialism. If a man who is out of work and belongs to a trade connected with the Government service thinks Socialism would be a good thing, he dare not say so; for if he did, he couldn't get a job. If he is in the Government service, he dare not say much; for if he did, he would lose his job. And we can't ask him to vote for Socialism, for he has no vote.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.

HEADQUARTERS
OF THE 411
S. L. P., HOBOKEN
Katz's Hall, 107 S. St.
MEETING EVERY SATURDAY.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

I.

BIRDS-EYE VIEW OF THE "LIBERAL" WITCHES' CALDRON.

By Richard J. Kerrigan, Montreal.

That the upper capitalist class has long ago abandoned the moral standards of medieval times is admitted even by the most vociferous of its defenders; that no apology is offered by the well-paid clergy, for the shortcomings of its patrons, is a standing complaint of the smaller fry of the clergy, who have not as yet secured jobs high up in the service of God Mammon. Railway steals, land steals, and all other steals, when of sufficiently large proportions, have only encountered the protests of the great, great middle class, on economic, and its moral bottle-holders, the minor clergy, on moral grounds. This is particularly so regarding the sexual relationship existing among the Upper Ten: so long as a man had the means to keep a Harem his social and moral standing remained unquestioned.

The middle class alone in this country stood for the sanctity of the sacraments, the State and other social institutions; they leaned thereon for support, sustenance and hope, since the upper class no longer respects what it possesses and merely uses these institutions to further its own shameless ends—familiarity therewith having bred contempt therefor.

The working class, being as yet unconscious, are indifferent. The surface of Canadian politics would at present indicate a change of sentiment in the middle class mind of sufficient magnitude to satisfy even the most fastidious. Church property and brothels are to be taxed impartially. Its government has defiled itself by making a compact with a troupe of Anarchists embracing the various brands of "Parlor Anarchists," "Scientific Society Anarchists," "Bomb-throwers (by proxy) Anarchists," and possibly Monarchs and police officials of sufficient quantity to provide propaganda by deed. In consequence of this deal the Canadian Criminal Code is torn to shreds. Marriage is no longer a legal requirement; one would think that the fires on the watch towers of Faith were quenched. And hereby hangs a tale to adorn the Socialist moral, viz., that profit, immediate or prospective, is the basis of middle class morals and aspirations. It matters not when coquetting with Labor whether it has vitriol for the capitalist and molasses for the worker, or honey for the capitalist and chloroform for Labor. It is still the great, great middle class.

In the last general elections, the middle class won the day, or thought it had when it swept the Tories out of office and elected the Liberals with "economy," free this and that, and words, words galore.

Then we had the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science burlesque. It don't matter which came first. Peter Kropotkin was a delegate, and this Revolutionary Prince had a scheme to ease the revolutionary strain in Russia by founding colonies in Canada to transfer thereto the social discontent of the Tolstoites. The Government was approached; Russian Princes in droves surveyed our Northwest (by the way, those Princes are as plentiful as Kentucky colonels); railways and steamship companies caught on; the daily press teemed with the rascality of the Czar, told of the benefits to be derived by securing good, healthy, strong settlers for our Northwest; money was voted by the Government of Economy; in order to square that class which is so careful of its coppers, it was pointed out that trade would be brisk, supplying the wants of the intending settlers. Every small dealer in shoddy closed his mouth at the expenditure of the public "stuff," and flattered himself on securing a share of the spoils. Seven thousand five hundred Dookoobours landed on our shores. This group of Christian Anarchists of easy virtue did not please the moralists; but they had taxed themselves, the dollars to be made covered the sins of the Dookoobours; mum was the word. A watchtower here and there in Israel bleched forth a little fire, at the scandalous sexual relationship of the Dookoobours; but that was easily fixed. Six or eight hundred were married in an hour with a nephew of Michael Bakunin as Best Man or Bishop (it matters not which), in order that the deal might be completed between the "Anarchist Communists" and "God and the State." Thus we have the Anarchist hand in hand with the State and "God" to secure a few acres of bush. Religion, and the middle class with Anarchy and vice to secure trade.

The world do move and the situation becomes clearer every day. Interests are uniting. That this pack will not last goes without saying. As to who will get the best of the bargain, that is already fixed. The railways and steamship companies have the money for transportation; the Dookoobours have the bush and hard labor to face; the traders will be disappointed, the Dookoobours having few wants that they cannot supply themselves. Before long we may expect to hear the moral fog-horn blow about the immorality of the Dookoobours; missionaries will be sent to convert them; one or two holy men may even be slaughtered on paper to enable the capitalist to appropriate Dookoobour property.

Let this be as it may, all serves to light the path of the Revolutionary Army of Labor. Middle class ambercodes and bogus flags of truce are to be shelled, as well Anarchist guerilla expeditions in the Campaign of the Revolution. Let us hope that this historic episode will enlighten the Canadian worker to the end that he may unite with the workers in all lands in a revolutionary sentiment and action.

II.

NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY AND MANITOBA.

By Robert Baker, Brandon, Man.

The Labor Question in Manitoba and Northwestern Territories is rather unique at this time, as far as the Northwestern Territories are concerned.

The farmers far from the railroad are happily situated, as they have all their labor for themselves. Of course, they cannot raise quite all they use and wear; while those nearer the line of railroad are supporting the railroad elevator and grain monopolies, and in a number of instances have the loan company thrown in as a gleaner. As in other parts of Canada, these pioneers prepare the way and improve the land. They borrow from the loan company for sustenance while the land is being improved, then the mortgage company very kindly takes the whole thing off their hands as the returns prove. There is a colony at Tantallon, Assiniboia, also a co-operative store at Lethbridge about 48 miles north of the United States line at Western Montana and having seen the progress made in the past by these little miss-fires it is a waste of time to enlarge upon them.

In regard to Manitoba, the Labor Question is in a more advanced state.

Some few farmers, by working early and late throughout the short season we have, and taking all they can get out of the hired help either 1, 2, 6 or 8 months in the year, mostly 1 month at harvest time, when they keep so busy they don't have time to think how long a working day make out somehow. The amount of remuneration that the hired help gets depends on the length of time they are hired; the longer, the less per month; and, if a man is lucky enough to work eight months and get his wage, he can enjoy hotel life for the next four months, waiting for spring, as a number do. I am personally acquainted with men who have been farming here since 1882 who had a little of their stored labor power, but am sorry to say many have to get the grocer to supply them on the expectation of the crop they have just put in. But, as I said before, the railroad elevator and grain monopolies kindly protect them from having a troublesome banking account;—and still they stick to one or the other of the dear old parties who use the same molds in making their porous plasters "warranted to fit all over."

Two of our enterprising one horse manufacturers here hire their laborers for about 6 months in the open season for the large remuneration of $1.25 per day of 11 hours, making for the whole year 62½ cents per day to support themselves and families; and one of these gentlemen keeps back 25 cents per day out of the colossal sum until the end of the season for self interest, seeing that at harvest time these laborers could easily get $2 either with farmer or thresher; and if they leave they loose the quarters.

The system of farming is more primitive to the extent if we take for example the wheat farms to be seen in California with their steam plows, steam headers or harvesters and vast areas of land, where they can raise wheat for less than one-half the price we can here. The best a few men have here is the 4-horse sulky, which is twice as good for the farmer as the walking plow. As far as the harvester is concerned, the climatic conditions here are against it, and the grain must be cut, stooked, then stacked, then threshed and cleaned by the farmer himself or elevator monopoly and bagged by hand, while in California the harvester does all the work and turns out the bags of grain ready for market. Again, the farmer is not troubled as to what he shall sell his grain for, but what the monopolies will give him after they are satisfied, and, like all dealers in labor, they get enough to keep themselves alive so they can raise more next year or the railroad and other monopolies would die themselves, so they leave the porous plaster off the soles of the farmers' feet.

Our educational department is progressing slowly. We have a few of the "Appeal" kind of Socialists here, but they are mostly holding Government jobs and are afraid they might drop them, so they keep posted for that "Reason."

III.

THE SOCIALIST GIRDLE COMPLETE.

By A. M. Muirhead, Halifax, N. S.

Our Section here is newly organized, and is the smallest of the Canadian Sections. The Socialists for a year past had been operating under the nom de plume of the "United Labor party." In February of this year we passed a motion to form a S. L. P. Section in support of comrades in other parts of the Dominion. The change was made not without loss, for the "Girondist" element was strong. Our charter was granted March 3 and, with Vancouver, B. C., forms one of termini of the Socialist girdle round the northern half of the continent. It is most probable that we shall have a paper of our own shortly, in which to hammer away at existing conditions. In this city the corporations own the newspapers, the Aldermen and the Government. We'll change all that.

The Proletarian.

[Written for the MAY DAY PEOPLE.]

By Stanislas Cullen, Spokane, Wash.

I am a Proletaire:
Propertyless, powerless, oppressed.
A mud-sill, a wage worker, a slave;
Despised, condemned and shunned.
In lands where the pharisee's cant of "Democracy"
Should cause the God of Truth to smite the lying mouths
That breathe their poison to the shuddering air;
There—where once the red sword of Justice
Cut down the traffickers in black flesh—
There am I enslaved, and worse!
Mocked with a gleaming bauble!
Solaced, forsooth, with the dead
Letter of a law called Freedom!
The ark of the covnant which the respectable thieves
Have despoiled of its treasure.
Deluded, tricked by cunning charlatans!
Made to clash my chains and lift my voice in loud song of praise;
Swelling the triumphant chorus of the all-conquering Capitalism.
Feeding this brute with wine and meat;
Sacrificing to this cruel and greedy God
My life, my soul, my wife, my brains.
But the phillistine, the pharisee,
And all the brass-lunged pack
Of bourgeois phrase-mongers cry aloud:
"Lo!" "This is Liberty!"
"Rejoice!" "For thou art not like those in other lands."
"Even as the greatest thou can'st enjoy the Right to Vote and make thy contracts."
Hark! again they shout:
"Long may our land be bright"
(Harken, O God!)
"With Freedom's holy light."
(But God seems deaf to blasphemy.)

In other lands the phrases change,
The cant of Liberty gives way to that of Church.
There caste disdains to wear a mask,
And bare-faced Right of blood and Right by Grace of God,
Support the Right to rob.
The Church proclaims:
"It is the will of God that thou should suffer here.
"But thou wilt rewarded be in heaven;
"So kiss the rod and murmur not;
"To thy masters be obedient."
And the king's sword gleams; and his army draws up;
Proving that the church is wiser than the Nazarene,
Who said: "All men are brothers."

I am a Proletaire.
On me rests the teeming earth.
I, I alone, with my two toil-stained hands,
Produce and fetch and carry all the food,
The clothes, the heat, the light;
Construct the poor man's hut and dwell therein;
The rich man's palace—and depart therefrom.
Like my forbears—whose toil-worn lives
Is mutely testified on Egypt's stones—
Day after day I toil and drudge and starve,
That pampered idlers may feast and joy.
The diamonds flash, which I have dug,
But not on bosoms where my head can rest.
The bright wine sparkles in the roue's cup,
I pressed the grape but must not taste the juice.
The gown yon lady wears with such fair grace
Has dimmed and dulled for age my daughter's eyes.
"A costly gown," they say—and costly 'tis, by God!
The broadcloth which yon gilded youth displays,
My skill produced—MY coat is worn and patched.
All! All! your temples, ships and wares,
Your railways, commerce and your art,
I build and carry on,
Nay more, yon bourgeois State:
Yon scoundrel ruling by the Grace of God;
At your command I cut my brother's throat,
In murderous frenzy, when you cry "to war!"
Defending with my proletarian blood
The spoils you've stolen from my plebian sweat.

All this I am and have been.
But I see a gleam of light;
And, like the Wise of old,
Who followed faithfully the star-lit road,
And found the new-born babe,—a proletaire, a Nazarene,
The Carpenter whose words made Systems, States and Empires turn to dust.
Like them I'll follow true the light I see.
And if the Infant—who has been foretold
In awe-struck whisperings by timid tongues,
In louder tones from cell and gallows-tree—
My Avatar, my Light, the Sword by which my class
Shall cut the bourgeois bond, the capitalist chain.
If he be born I'll pour my treasures out
As those wise men of old.
My toil, my sweat, my blood, my life.
I'll guard him from the mob of leeches and exploiters;
Who would wade, like Herod,
Through the blood of me and mine to crush and kill our Hope.

Ye tremble at his name, and yet
'Tis one that Christ himself would joy to hear:
"Solidarity of Labor 'round the world,"
His voice proclaims, "All workers brothers are."
Glad music in the Infant Socialist's voice.
For "Socialist" is he named.
Justice and Love stood sponsors for the babe;
And bade his mother, Labor, to rejoice,
For that her Son would overturn a world
Of sin and suffering and break every chain,
That Caste and Cant and Craft had forged;
And give the Proletariat the place
In the world new-built that long had been usurped
By those exploiters, "Who," so Justice said,
"Too long have gone unwhipped."

I am a Proletaire.
But no longer blind, I stand erect;
Conscious, not only of my class, but more:
Knowing the destiny and place in life,
I and my brothers shall full soon attain.
The Infant Socialist is waxing strong;
And even now—while but comely youth—
With wise discourse he makes the graybeards stare,
Confounding scribes and doctors learned in law.
"The Proletariat," so he says, "shall rule
"When it becomes class-conscious and aware
"Of all its rights and duties in the world.
"It will destroy and bury out of sight
"The putrid system built on brothers' blood.
"The monster Competition it will kill.
"Barter and sale for profit and the ruck
"Of blood and war and hate which those produce.
"Together with wage slavery, shall be sent
"To join the cannibal and blue-blooded thief.
"The Proletariat shall not be a class,
"But something nobler, greater, grander far.
"Its name shall be Humanity—for all men,
"Shall pride and joy themselves on doing work—
"Each for the Commonweal and all for each.
"Then man shall first know Freedom.
"Like brightest gem long buried in the tomb
"Of dark and sullen centuries, you shall flash
"And light the path of man:
"Dispelling all the gloom and fear
"Which long have crushed his heart."

I am a Proletaire.
Triumphant and glad I take my stand
Beneath his banner bright:
A field of red that typifies our blood,
With Arm and Hammer raised,
The glorious emblem of our conquering class.
With every fibre of my being thrilled
With love and hope and courage for the Cause.
Swearing no rest to know until we strike
The capitalistic God with death,
Peaceful, but firm, class-conscious, seeing clear.
My hand outstretched to meet in friendly grasp
The hand of every worker in the world,
Knowing no race nor creed nor color;
Burning those barriers which thieves have built
To separate and keep apart our class,
More proudly than the Roman cried of old—
Because more universal is my ken,—
Greeting the dawning century with joy,
I cry aloud that all the world may hear:
I am a Proletaire.

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
—OF THE—
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organise under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientinc management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be excempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment ofchildren of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities(county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalisation of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

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